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A STUDY IN THE

STRUCTURE OF LAND HOLDING AND ADMINISTRATION IN ESSEX IN THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

This study explores some of the implications of the distribution of estates between the landholders of Essex in 1066. Emphasis is placed on the immediate background of land ownership in Essex during the reign of Edward the Confessor, though some attention is paid to the earlier history of the shire. The principal source for the investigation is the pre-Conquest data recorded in the Essex folios of Domesday Book.

In the first part the broad outlines of the structure of landholding society are considered. Particular attention is paid to those with large amounts of land, although the less extensive holdings of freemen and sokemen are also discussed. Charters, wills and other pre-Conquest documents provide information on the earlier tenurial history of some estates, and from them and other evidence a model is proposed of the trends in land tenure in Essex between c900 and 1066. In an appendix identifiable lay landholders are listed with details of their estates, whilst in the body of the text the pre-Conquest holdings of ecclesiastical institutions are examined in detail.

The second part of the study considers the evolution of the institutions of public administration within the shire, and where relevant the influence upon them of powerful landholders. This influence is seen most clearly in the hundreds, and an attempt is made to reconstruct the earlier history of the 1066 Essex hundreds, in particular the evolution of those in

the west of the shire. The varying fortunes of the Essex burhs are considered in the light of the output from their mints. To complete the picture evidence of pre-Conquest private lordship - soke, and commendation - is examined.

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The following abbreviations are used in this study

ASC - Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

ASCh - P H Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters, an annotated list and bibliography (1968)

ASW - D Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills (1930)

DB - Domesday Book

DNB - Dictionary of National Biography

EAH - Essex Archaeology and History

ECE - C Hart, The Early Charters of Essex (1971)

EHD i - D Whitelock (Ed) English Historical Documents i (2nd edn 1979)

EHD ii - D C Douglas & G W Greenaway (Eds) English Historical Documents ii (2nd edn 1981)

EHR - English Historical Review

TEAS - Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society

VCH - Victoria History of the Counties of England -

Cambs - Cambridgeshire, Ex - Essex, Herts - Hertfordshire,

Middx - Middlesex, Wilts - Wiltshire, Worcs - Worcestershire

Chapter 1

The Administrative History of Essex, c600-1066

The shire of Essex, with which this study is concerned, is situated in south-eastern England. In shape it is approximately square, measuring 90 kilometres north-south, and 100 east-west. Essex is bounded on all four sides by water - on the northern boundary the River Stour separates it from Suffolk; the Stort, and the Lea on the west delimit it from Cambridgeshire, and Hertfordshire, and on the south the Thames is the boundary between Essex and Kent. To the east the sea marks the extent of the shire, and along its indented coastline are three major river estuaries, those of the Colne, Blackwater, and Crouch. The highest ground is to be found in the north-west, where from a height of 130 metres it gradually slopes down to east and south towards the sea, and the river Thames. The soil of Essex is generally fertile, although the boulder clay found in its centre once supported heavy woodland. Elsewhere the drift geology consists of gravels, and alluvial and estuarine deposits.[1] The proximity of Essex to Continental Europe, together with the facilities provided by its drainage pattern for settlers to advance rapidly into its interior, resulted in it having an evenly distributed, and at times dense population during the prehistoric periods.[2] With the collapse of the Roman Empire settlers from across the North Sea were soon established within the future shire, either as mercenary soldiers,[3] or in large settlements of the type excavated at Mucking.[4]

The settlement at Mucking, situated on a gravel terrace overlooking the Thames, covered 200,000 square metres, and contained over 200 sunken-floored huts, and 50 larger buildings erected at ground level. It was occupied between the early

1. A survey of the geology, soils, and environment of Essex is given by R H Allen and R G Sturdy in their paper, 'The environmental background', in D G Buckley (Ed) Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500 (1980), pp 1-7.
2. This is demonstrated by the distribution maps in Buckley (Ed) op cit, for sites of the following periods: Paleolithic, Fig 3, p 10; Mesolithic, Fig 6, p 15; Neolithic, Fig 11, p 32; Bronze Age, Figs 15-17, pp 41, 43, 44; Iron Age, Figs 18, 21, pp 48, and 60; and Roman, Figs 22, 24, and 30, pp 61, 63, and 72.
3. Belt fittings and cross-bow brooches, worn by soldiers and possibly civilian officials in the late Roman period have been found at several sites in Essex, P J Drury and W Rodwell, 'Settlement in the late Iron Age and Roman periods', in Buckley (Ed) op cit, pp 71-74, referring to the fundamental article on this subject, S C Hawkes and G C Dunning, 'Soldiers and settlers in Britain, fourth to fifth century, with a catalogue of animal-ornamented buckles and related belt fittings', Medieval Archaeology 5 (1961), 1-70.
4. The literature on Mucking is extensive, and is listed by M U Jones, 'Mucking and early Saxon rural settlement', in Buckley (Ed) op cit, p 86. The following paragraph is based on the account in that paper, and W T Jones, 'Early Saxon cemeteries in Essex', ibid, pp 87-95.

fifth and the late seventh centuries, when the settlement was abandoned. Not only have the houses of these, some of the first English settlers, been excavated, but two cemeteries have also been found, containing 864 burials, the first occasion in England that both a settlement site and its cemeteries have been discovered together. Elsewhere in Essex remains of early Saxon cemeteries and settlements are not numerous, probably because many of them underlie modern towns and villages.

From historical sources, in particular Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, it can be seen that what was to become Essex was in the seventh century part of the East Saxon kingdom.[1] The first recorded event in East Saxon history occurred in 604, when their king, Saberht, was converted to Christianity, and Bede's account of this event shows that Saberht ruled the East Saxons under the suzerainty of his uncle, Ethelbert, King of Kent. Saberht's capital was London, and it was there that Ethelbert built a church for Melitus, the bishop appointed by Augustine to the East Saxon see.[2] Surviving genealogies of the East Saxon royal family commence with Seaxnet, the tribal god of the Old Saxons, and imply that the family's eminent position had been achieved with Kentish help shortly before Saberht's conversion.[3]

1. In his account of the reconversion of the East Saxons in 653, Bede mentioned the building of churches at Bradwell and Tilbury, both of which are within the later shire of Essex. B Colgrave and R A B Mynors (Eds) Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (1969), pp 282-285 (iii, 22).
2. Bede, op cit, ii, 3; p 142 in Colgrave and Mynor's edition.
3. The genealogies are analysed by B Yorke in 'The Kingdom of the East Saxons', Anglo-Saxon England 14, (1985), 3-4, and 8-16. Bede (i, 15; p 50 in the ed cit) recorded that the Saxon settlers in England came from Old Saxony, which could explain the East Saxon kings' claim to be descended from the tribal god of their homeland.

At least 20 of the East Saxon kings who reigned after Saberht are known, all of whose names (with one exception) began with the letter s.[1] Saberht died in 616 or 617, and was succeeded by his three sons, Saward, Seaxred, and their brother whose name is not known. Bede mentioned three other periods when the East Saxons had more than one king - later in the seventh century two pairs of brothers, Swithhelm and Sithfrith, and Sigheard and Swaefred, ruled together, and between these groups the unusual combination of two cousins once removed, Sigehere, and Saebbi, were kings of the East Saxons.[2] The surviving evidence does not indicate whether the number of kings remained constant, although it does suggest that they ruled specific parts of the kingdom, within which they seem to have been able to act independently of their co-ruler(s).[3] Not only did the number of East Saxon kings vary, so too did the area under their control. If the boundaries of the diocese of London indicate the extent of the East Saxon kingdom in 604, then it comprised not only Essex and London, but also Middlesex, and at least part of what became Hertfordshire.[4] Middlesex was referred to as a separate province within the East Saxon kingdom,[5] and was probably once independent of its neighbour to the east. Surrey too may have been under East Saxon control in the seventh century; the name of the future county meaning 'southern district' being presumably an extension of Middlesex south of the Thames.[6] During the reign of Saebbi (663/4-693/4) East Saxon rule extended over Kent, and at the end of his reign Saebbi's eldest son Swaefheard was ruling Kent (c688-694). It is likely that the need to govern these areas beyond the East Saxon heartlands of what became Essex, were in part responsible for the multiplicity of kings. After the contraction of the East Saxon kingdom in the eighth century there seems to have been only one king.

1. Yorke, art cit, 13 ff. The exception was Offa, for whom see ibid, 22-23, and 'Offa of Essex', pp 181-183 of H P R Finberg's The Early Charters of the West Midlands (1961).
2. For Seaxred, Saeward, and brother, see Bede ii, 15 (ed cit, p 152), Yorke, art cit, 18; Swithelm and Swithfrith, if as Yorke suggests they were the brothers who killed Sigeberht 'Sanctus', art cit, 18-19, Bede iii, 22 (ed cit, p 284); and Sigheard and Swaefred - Bede iv, 11 (ed cit p 368), Yorke art cit, 22; and Sigehere and Saebbi, Bede iii, 30 (ed cit, p 322), Yorke, art cit, 20.
3. This paragraph is based upon Yorke's analysis, art cit, 25-31.
4. Of relevance to a consideration of the role of the diocese of London in East Saxon government is D Whitelock's Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London (1975).
5. The earliest reference to the provincia quae nuncupator Middleseaxan is in a charter of 704 in which Swaefred granted land at Twickenham to Bishop Waldhere, ASCh No 65.
6. The eastern and western boundaries of Middlesex and Surrey face each other across the Thames, as noted by T Dyson and J Schofield, 'Saxon London', in J Haslam (Ed) Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England (1984), p 291.

In the early seventh century the East Saxons were under the overlordship of Ethelbert king of Kent, but after his death his son Eadbald had less royal power than his father had, and could not reinstate Mellitus as Bishop of London against the will of the heathen East Saxons.[1] There is uncertainty about the identity of the influences over the East Saxons until 664, when part of them came within the orbit of Wulfhere of Mercia.[2] Mercian influence can also be discerned in Middlesex, and by the end of the seventh century London had become a Mercian trading place, although Saebbi was living there at the time of his death in 693 or 694.[3] Early in the following century it seems that AEthelbald of Mercia detached London and Middlesex from East Saxon control and incorporated them into his own kingdom.[4] The Mercians had little interest in Essex, and the East Saxon kings enjoyed considerable autonomy within that part of their kingdom, perhaps even having a distinctive reverse on AEthelbald's coins issued for them. Although within the Mercian sphere of influence the East Saxons, within Essex, continued to exist as a separate kingdom with their own kings.

This arrangement probably came to an end during the second quarter of the ninth century. In 825 Egbert, king of Wessex, defeated Beornwulf, king of Mercia, at the battle of Wroughton, and as a result was able to assume the lordship of Kent, Surrey, the South Saxons, and the East Saxons, before he conquered Mercia itself in 829.[5] Egbert died in 839 and was succeeded as king of Wessex by his son Ethelwulf. He established his son Athelstan as sub king over the people of Kent, the kingdom of the East Saxons, and the South Saxons.[6] On Ethelwulf's death in 858 his kingdom was divided between his two sons. AEthelbald became king of Wessex, while Ethelbert ruled the

1. Bede, Ecclesiastical History, ii, 6 (pp 154-157 ed cit) - 'Non enim tanta erat ei quanta patri ipsius regni potestas, ut etiam nolentibus ac contradicentibus paganis antistitem suae posset ecclesiae reddere'.
2. Sigeberht had come under the influence of King Oswui of Northumbria (Bede iii, 22; ed cit pp 280-285). Bede explained how Sighere cum sua parte populi reverted to paganism, but were reconverted at the instance of Wulfhere of Mercia, Sigehere and Saebbi's overlord - Bede iii, 30; ed cit, pp 322-323.
3. Dyson and Scofield's survey of the early Saxon history of London, art cit, draws upon and enlarges the analysis of C N L Brooke and G Keir, London 800-1200: The Shaping of a City (1975).
4. See Yorke, art cit, 35-36 for what follows.
5. The campaign is fully described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 825, and 829, although dated 823 and 827 in the original; C Plummer and J Earle (Eds) Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel (1892) i, 60-61.
6. "& he salde his suna AEþelstane Cantwara rica & East Seaxna & Suþrigea & Suþ Seaxna", Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 836 (recte 839), MS 'A', ed cit, 62. Athelstan was described as 'cyning' in MS 'A', s.a. 853 (recte 851), ed cit, 66.

regions previously under Athelstan.[1] Five years later AEthelbald died, and AEthelbert assumed the government of Wessex in addition to the eastern areas previously under his control, and ruled both until he died in 865 or 866. The new king of Wessex was a third son of Ethelwulf, Ethelred,[2] but it is not clear what arrangements were made for the government of the East Saxons between his accession and the treaty between Alfred, brother of Ethelwulf, and king of Wessex; and Guthrum, the Danish leader, whereby the future shire of Essex, being east of the River Lea, was placed in Anglo-Danish England.[3] The settlement of the boundary of English England may have been made soon after 886, by which time Guthrum and his army had settled in East Anglia, where he died in 890.[4]

The arrival in England in 892 of elements of a large Danish force that had been active in Europe resulted in the recommencement of offensive operations by the Scandinavians against Alfred. Essex was used as their base in these campaigns, and they constructed fortresses at Benfleet, and Shoebury, both on the River Thames. The Danes also encamped on Mersea Island at the mouth of the River Colne in 894.[5] However, the strength of Danish administrative control over what was now known as Essex, rather than the kingdom of the East Saxons, may not have been very great.[6] In 886 Alfred occupied London, apparently to 'expel completely the army of the pagan Danes from his kingdom'[7], and that action may have helped to weaken Danish control over Essex. This could explain the record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the death of Ealdorman Brihtwulf of Essex in 896,

1. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 855; ed cit 66, where mention was made of the East Seaxna rice.
2. His accession to the throne was noted in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 866, ed cit, 68-69.
3. The text of the treaty is printed by Liebermann, Die Gesetze Der Angelsachsen i (1903), 126-128. The boundary between Alfred's kingdom and the territory of Guthrum was described in the first clause as "AErest ymbe ure landgemæra: up on Temese, & ðonne up on Ligan, & andlang Ligan oð hire æwylm, ðonne on gerihte to Bedanforda, ðonne up on Usan oð Wætlingastræt".
4. Guthrum's death was noted in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 890, ed cit, 82-83.
5. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 892-894, ed cit 84-89. The Danish attacks on, and government of Essex, were examined by E Stokes and J H Round in their essay 'Political History', VCH Ex ii, 205-209.
6. In the translation of D Whitelock, et al, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (1965), the word 'Essex' is first used in the annal for 893 (p 54). This is a translation of East Seaxe (ed cit, 85). Until 855 the term 'East Saxons' is used, for East Seaxna rice (ed cit, 66).
7. B Thorpe (Ed), Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis i (1848), 267, "ut exercitum paganorum Danorum suo de regno penitus expulerit". The quoted translation is from Whitelock, op cit, p 52, fn 6.

since it is clear that Brihtwulf was a West Saxon office holder, and not a Danish one.[1] Essex was not finally incorporated into the West Saxon kingdom until 917 when Edward the Elder captured and occupied Colchester,[2] and from 930 (if not before), until the reign of Cnut the chief royal representatives in the shire[3] were a succession of ealdormen, the names of five of whom are known.

The word ealdorman meant chief man, and is first recorded in the seventh century.[4] By the eighth the position was one of some distinction, and was often held by a relative of the king, or a member of a ruling family of a previously independent kingdom. In the tenth century all of the known ealdormen had previously been king's thegns, appointment to the higher rank being at the king's pleasure. The duties of the ealdormen included the waging of war, collection of taxes, administration of justice, and attendance at the king's court. In return for their work they received a third of the revenues from both the shire court, and the burhs within it, and they were supported by the revenues of certain estates set aside for their use.[5]

1. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 897 (recte 896), ed cit 90, where he was described as "Beorhtulf ealdormon on East Seaxum".
2. The capture of the burg of Colneceastre is described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 920 (recte 917), ed cit, 102-103.
3. In historic Wessex shires (scirs) were areas of the kingdom based on royal manors, and administered by ealdormen; H R Loyn, The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1086 (1984), pp 53-56. Later, as other kingdoms - Kent, and Essex for example - were absorbed, they were treated as shires and administered similarly. After the Norman Conquest the name of these areas changed to counties.
4. The most recent discussion of ealdormen is the first chapter ('The Office of Ealdorman') of N Banton's unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis (1981), 'Ealdormen and Earls in England from the Reign of King Alfred to the Reign of King AEthelred II', pp 4-39. See also H R Loyn, 'The term Ealdorman in the Translations Prepared at at the Time of King Alfred', EHR 68 (1953), 513-525.
5. The sources of profit enjoyed by ealdormen are examined by Banton, op cit, pp 30-33.

1. The first charter he witnessed was the grant of Medmerry and Earnley (Sussex) to Bishop Beornheah, in 930, ASCh No 403, where he was described as Uhtred dux; W de G Birch (Ed) Cartularium Saxonicum ii (1887), 350. The last diploma on which his name appears recorded the grant of land at Weston to AEthelhere by Edmund in 946, ASCh No 508. Between these two dates he witnessed 37 charters according to W de G Birch, Index Saxonis (1899), p 120.
2. He first appears as a witness in the charter of 946 in which King Eadred granted land in Dorset to his minister Wulfric, ASCh No 519, where he was described as Aelfgar dux, Birch, Cart Sax ii, 583. The last grant to bear his name is that of Chieveley (Berks) to Wulfric in 951, ASCh No 558. In between he witnessed 14 others, Birch, Index p 6. For a note on his career see C R Hart, The Early Charters of Eastern England (1966), p 58. The text of his will survives, ASCh No 1483; ASW No ii, ECE No 13, and of the 14 estates mentioned in it 8 were in Essex.
3. For this practice see Banton, op cit, p 111.
4. Banton, op cit, p 128.
5. The literature on Brithnoth is considerable, the most recent analysis of his life is by Banton, op cit, pp 145-174. For an earlier discusssion see E V Gordon, The Battle of Maldon (1949), pp 15-21.
6. There is a short account of her life in C R Hart, The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands (1975), p 283.
7. A summary account is to be found in E Miller, The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely (1951), pp 22-23. Full details were recorded in the Liber Eliensis (Ed E O Blake, Royal Historical Society, Camden 3rd ser 92, 1962), passim. Banton, op cit, p 318, drew attention to Brithnoth's patronage of Worcester.
8. Details of the charters Brithnoth subscribed to are given in Table 6, 'Subscriptions of the Ealdormen, 979-1016', and Fig 6 (p 60), 'The Diplomas of King Eadwig issued in 956: Group Four', of S Keynes, The Diplomas of King AEthelred 'The Unready', 978-1016 (1980).
9. The poem about the Battle of Maldon was edited by Gordon, as noted above, n.5 . Brithnoth's death, and that of AEthelwine, were considered by Keynes, op cit, pp 186-187, and 197.
10. Hart, Early Charters of Northern England, pp 343-344. He also suggested that the ealdordom of Essex may have been subordinate to to that of East Anglia from the time of Uhtred, 'Athelstan 'Half King' and his family', Anglo-Saxon England 2 (1973), 23, 26.

of the 23 diplomas issued between 994 and 1002,[1] and was obviously of some importance at court since he was sent by the king and his wit an to negotiate a truce with the Danes so that they could receive tribute and provisions. While the money was being paid Leofsige killed AEfic the king's high reeve, and the ealdorman was banished from the country.[2]

The status and position of ealdormen underwent important changes during the last quarter of the tenth century.[3] It has already been noted that they were sometimes few in number, and in consequence were often responsible for more than one shire. Leofsige may have been ealdorman of Essex and East Anglia at the same time,and his successor Ulfcytel 'Snilling' was also responsible for both. However, although Ulfcytel apparently carried out the duties of an ealdorman, witnessing charters, and leading the shires' fyrds in a number of successful campaigns against the Danes, he was never styled as ealdorman in contemporary documents, but described as minister.[4] He witnessed 16 of the 23 charters issued between 1002 and 1016, and in four he was the first of the ministri to subscribe.[5]

1. Keynes, op cit, Table 6, 'Subscriptions of the Ealdormen, 979-1016'.
2. The incident was recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a., ed cit, 133-134, and analysed by Keynes, op cit, pp 108-109, fn 73.
3. Banton, op cit, pp 197-224, Chapter 7 'The Ealdormen in Tenth Century England' examines these changes.
4. Hart, Early Charters of Northern England, p 363, gives a brief note on his career, which is supplemented by Banton, op cit, pp 177-182, and 209. He was described as dux Ulfketel by Florence of Worcester (Ed B Thorpe, Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon Ex Chronicis, i (1868), 157. His military exploits were recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 1003 (ed cit, 135), 1010 (ibid, 140-141), and 1016 (ibid, 152) - in the last entry he was described as Ulfcytel of East Englan .
5. Keynes, op cit, Table 8, 'Subscriptions of the ministri, 993-1016'.

He was killed in battle at Ashingdon in 1016, at the head of the Essex fyrd, the second of its leaders to die fighting the Danes in the shire.[1]

The tendency for ealdormen to administer larger areas than one shire, which became increasingly common as Ethelred's reign progressed, reached its culmination in 1017. In that year Cnut became king of the whole of England, and divided the country into four earldoms - Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria.[2] It is presumed that Essex was included in the earldom of East Anglia, the first earl of which was Thorkell the Tall, a Viking leader whose earlier military exploits are described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[3] He was present at the consecration of the minster at Ashingdon in 1020, but was outlawed by Cnut the following year.[4] It is not known who succeeded him as earl of East Anglia, as the next attested holder of the position was Harold Godwineson, who is first recorded as earl in 1052.[5] Freeman suggested that after Thorkell lost the East Anglian earldom it was held by the successive husbands of Gunhild, Cnut's niece - Hakon, and later Harold.[6] More recently, Hart has proposed that in view of his strong connections with the area, Osgod Clappa was earl of East Anglia before Harold assumed the position.[7] In 1053 on the death of his father Harold succeeded to the earldom of Wessex, and AElfgar became earl of East Anglia.[8] In 1057 he too succeeded to his father's earldom, that of Mercia, and Essex was detached from East Anglia and added to Kent, Hertfordshire, and possibly Buckinghamshire to form an earldom for Leofwine, who continued to govern the area until he was killed in the Battle of Hastings.[9]

1. The location of the battlefield was considered by C R Hart in 'The Site of Assandun', History Studies i (1968), 1-12.
2. After the defeat of Edmund Ironside at Ashingdon Cnut ruled the country beyond the Thames, while Edmund was king of Wessex. On the latter's death the West Saxons accepted Cnut as their king, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a., ed cit, 155. For the background see F M Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (1975), pp 389-393.
3. There is a brief note on Thorkell in Hart, Early Charters of Eastern England, pp 236-237. His campaigning is mentioned in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 1009 (ed cit, 139), and 1013 (ed cit, 143).
4. His presence at Ashingdon was recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a., ed cit, 154; as was his expulsion, s.a. 1021, ed cit, 155. He was restored in 1023 when he was entrusted with the government of Denmark, although Cnut kept his son in England as a hostage, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a., ed cit, 157.
5. For details of Harold's Essex estates, see below, p 69ff.
6. E A Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest of England ii (1868), Note G, 'The Great Earldoms during the Reign of Edweard', 555-568, esp 557. Hakon died in 1030 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a., ed cit, 151). Harold's earldom, according to Florence of Worcester (ed cit, i, 205), comprised Essex, East Anglia, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire.
7. Hart, "Athelstan 'Half King'", 143. There is a brief survey of Osgod's life in Dictionary of National Biography ix 14 (1909), 1201, while details of his descendants are given in genealogy 70 (p 454) of W G Searle, Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles (1899). They included Tofig, the founder of the community at Waltham, and Asgeirr the Staller, for whom see below, respectively, pp 135, and 61-66.
8. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 1053, ed cit, 182. AElfgar had already held the earldom between Sep 1051 and Sep 1052 while Harold was banished, Hart, "Athelstan 'Half King'", 143.
9. As explained by E Stokes and J H Round in VCH Ex ii, 208-210.

As the ealdordoms and earldoms increased in size, it became increasingly difficult for the ealdormen and earls to oversee the day to day administration of the provinces in their charge. Already in the laws of Alfred it had been expected that the ealdorman's deputy would have to preside over meetings,[1] but conditions during the century before the Norman Conquest necessitated the appointment of officials to undertake the routine administration within the ealdordoms and earldoms. The need was met by the king appointing in each shire a reeve who was responsible to him for the execution of justice, his fiscal rights and dues, and other matters. This official was the scirgerefa, shire reeve, or sheriff.[2] Earlier Anglo-Saxon law codes show that the king's reeves were the chief local officials beneath the ealdormen. They were normally based at royal manors,[3] or in burhs,[4] and seem to have had their own courts.[5] In the 'Ordinance of the bishops and reeves belonging to London' reeves are mentioned who were responsible for shires, although these were probably embryonic city wards rather than later counties.[6] When the king's reeves began to administer shires rather than smaller areas there was little change in the nature of their duties, and so the laws did not distinguish between the scirgerefa and other royal reeves. The earliest extant reference to a sheriff dates from the reign of Cnut, and Morris has suggested that the office originated during the first seventy-five years of the tenth century, at the same time as the growth of the police and judicial powers of the hundred.[7]

1. Alfred 38.1, established a fine of 120/- for disturbing the folcgemot of the ealdorman by drawing a weapon, and 38.2 set the penalty for a similar action before the "cyninges ealdor monnes gingran" or "cyninges preost" as 30/-, Liebermann, op cit, 72-73.
2. The basic study on sheriffs is W A Morris, The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300 (1927), chapter 2 of which, 'The Office of Sheriff in the Anglo-Saxon Period' was first published in EHR 31 (1916), 20-40. The following paragraphs are based upon Morris's work.
3. Alfred 1.3, where the "cyninges gerefa" was ordered to feed any one imprisoned on a royal estate who had no relatives to bring him food, Liebermann, op cit, 48-49.
4. I Athelstan, prologue, is addressed to the "gerefan to hwilcere birig", Liebermann, op cit, 146-147.
5. This can be implied from the prologue to I Edward, where the king commanded his reeves to "ðaet gehwilc spraece habbe andagan, hwaenne heo gelaest sy, þaet ge ðonne gereccan", Liebermann, op cit, 138-139.
6. Morris, op cit, p 18, considers the ordinance, which is examined further below, in relation to the growth of the hundred, Chapter 6, P p 176ff.
7. Morris, op cit, pp 18-20 considers the evidence. Stenton, op cit, p 548, dates the emergence of the office of sheriff a little later, to between 1016 and 1066.

The judicial powers of the sheriff were derived from the ealdorman or earl, who received a third of the fines taken in the shire's courts. The ealdorman was required by law codes issued in the reigns of Edgar, and Cnut, to be present with the bishop at the twice-yearly sessions of the shire court, but it seems likely that sheriffs often deputised for them.[1] In the military field too they took the place of the ealdorman at the head of the shire fyrd. The reference in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to the death in battle of AElfnoth, the sheriff of Herefordshire during campaigning against the Welsh in 1056, is reminiscent of the entries recording the deaths of ealdormen.[2] The final sphere in which sheriffs were important in the late Anglo-Saxon period was that of finance. They were closely involved with the administration of the royal estates in their shire, the collection of royal dues, and, when it was levied, geld.[3] Although all known pre-Conquest sheriffs were landholders, their powers were derived from the royal nature of their office, rather than their own prestige, and some of their number appointed by Edward and Harold continued to hold office in the early years of William's reign.[4]

1. 3 Edgar 5.1 stated that the scirgemot was to meet twice a year, and the next clause (5.2) that "& þaer beo on ðaere scire biscop & se ealdorman, & þaer aegder taecan ge Godes riht ge woruldriht". Liebermann, op cit, 202-203. Repeated in II Cnut 18, ibid, 320-321. See also Morris, op cit, pp 24-27.
2. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 1056, ed cit, 186, and compare with the deaths of Brithnoth, and Ulfcytel, referred to above. Again, Morris's discussion of the military duties of the sheriff is valuable, op cit pp 27-28.
3. The pre-Conquest evidence is surveyed by Morris, op cit, pp 28-33.
4. Morris noted 7 or 8 who fell into this category, op cit, p 23, fn 48.

It has been seen that there are few references to the eleventh century earls who governed Essex, and similarly little is known of its sheriffs, or shire court. Only one of the pre-Conquest sheriffs of Essex is known for certain, Leofcild, who was addressed in two writs of Edward the Confessor, confirming gifts of land at Wennington, and Kelvedon, to Westminster in 1042-1044.[1] The authenticity of these diplomas is doubtful, but Leofcild the sheriff witnessed both Thurstan's bequest of Wimbish to Christ Church Canterbury 1042-1043,[2] and his own will of 1043-1045.[3] There are other references to him in charters of the 1040s,[4] and a Leofcild gave land at Moulsham to Westminster in 1052-1053,[5] although it is not clear whether all of these references relate to the same man.[6] It is likely that Robert fitz Wimarc was sheriff of Essex before the Conquest, as he was at some time after it, but there is no definite evidence to support this view.[7] Ralf Baignard, and Suen (Robert's son) were both sheriffs under William,[8] and Peter de Valognes held the position at the time of the Domesday survey.[9]

There are no surviving pre-Conquest references to the Essex shire court, the earliest descriptions of its activities being recorded in Domesday Book. There were eight occasions upon which evidence supplied by the county jurors was recorded, in each case relating to the title to estates. They testified that one hide at South Benfleet had been given to St Martin-le-Grand by Engelric without the king's permission, while only one of the jurors knew that AEdelric had given Kelvedon Hatch to St Peter's Westminster.[10]

1. F E Harmer, Anglo-Saxon Writs (1952), Nos 73, and 74, respectively ASCh Nos 1117, and 1118; ECE Nos 50, and 51. For a list of Essex sheriffs see Public Record Office, List of Sheriffs for England and Wales (1898; repr 1963), p 43.
2. ASW No 30; ASCh No 1530, ECE No 49.
3. ASW No 31, ASCh No 1531, ECE No 59. See also J L Fisher, 'Thurstan son of Wine', TEAS n.s. 23 (1936), 98-104.
4. As noted by Harmer, op cit, pp 564-565.
5. Harmer, op cit, No 84, ASCh No 1128, ECE No 65. On Moulsham see further B Harvey, Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages (1977), pp 37, and 343.
6. Harmer, op cit, 565, fn 4 was doubtful, although O von Feilitzen, The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book (1937), p 311, believed that they did, with the Essex and Suffolk Domesday entries relating to Leofcild, refer to the same person - who must in that case have been alive in 1086. See further the Appendix, below, pp 385-386.
7. See Harmer's note, op cit, p 571; and cf Morris's view, op cit, p 37, fn 164, and references cited below, pp 79ff. Robert was certainly sheriff after the Conquest because he transferred a hide of land to Grim the Reeve by William's command, DB ii, f 98.
8. DB ii, f 1b, where the death of team oxen is stated to have occurred during their periods of office. After he ceased to be sheriff Suen appropriated one and a quarter hides belonging to the church of the royal manor of Hatfield Broad Oak, ibid, f 2b.
9. DB ii, f 1b, where of Witham it said "custodit hoc man' Petrus uicecomes". Elsewhere, at Chigwell, he was holding the 30 acres of a freeman, ibid, f 90b.
10. DB ii, f 14 "ut consulat' testat' sine jussu regis"; ibid, f 14b "sed nullu' hominu' ex comitatu scit hoc n' un'".

They knew that 15 acres of Odo of Bayeux's Stifford manor lay in the soke of a Thurrock estate, but did not know how the bishop came to have 23 freemen and their 14 acres at South Hanningfield.[1] At Wormingford, the county jurors knew that 19 sokemen could not detach themselves from the manor, and they also stated that Ranulf Peverel should not be holding Plumtuna since it had not, as Ranulf claimed, belonged to his Anglo-Saxon predecessor.[2] They also knew of the unauthorised addition of half a hide to Walter of Doai's holding at Rainham, and gave evidence against Geoffrey de Mandeville's claim to hold Arkesden as part of the land of Asgeirr his predecessor.[3] These Domesday references indicate that among the business transacted at meetings of the shire court was the notification of changes in the ownership of land, which was accomplished by the sending of a royal writ or officer.[4] This information was required not only so that the local community was aware of legitimate changes in ownership, but also so that the geld rolls could be kept up to date.

Not only is there little evidence of the early working of the Essex shire court, there is no direct information as to where it met. Round claimed that there was no Essex shire town at the time of Domesday,[5] although it is clear from Domesday itself that Colchester was the largest town in the shire both in 1066, and 1086. It was also the only place in Essex where the king and his witan met during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the site of the only royal castle built in Essex during the reign of William the Conqueror.[6] It seems highly likely that Colchester was the shire town of Essex in the later Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods, and it was still the site of the sheriff's office in the 1260s, although the county court then normally met at Writtle.[7]

1. DB ii, f 24b, "sicut comitat' testat'"; ibid, f 25, "comitat' nescit qo mo eos habuerit".
2. DB ii, f 66, "& istisochemani sic' comitat' testat' non po'tant remouere ab illo man'"; ibid, f 75, "n' p'tinuit ad e'u' sic' comitat' testat'". Plumtuna has not been satisfactorily identified, VCH Ex iv, 3.
3. DB ii, f 91, "n' adjacebant t.r.e. ut consulat' testat'"; ibid, f 100b, "comitat' non testat'".
4. As recorded in the Domesday description of Fanton Hall, which Westminster held "neq' breve' neq' famulu.' reg' ex parte habuerunt postqua' rex uenit in ista' t'ra"., DB ii, ff 14b-15.
5. VCH Ex i, 340, fn 2.
6. For further details on the development of Colchester before 1066 see below, Chapter 8.
7. R C Palmer, The County Courts of Medieval England 1159-1350 (1982), 7-8, comments on the site of the court, which was later to move to Chelmsford.

Chapter 2

Landholding in Anglo-Saxon England

This chapter serves as an introduction to the first part of the study.[1] In it the types of land tenure in Anglo-Saxon England are considered, and in the conclusion the difficulties of identifying the terms by which estates in Essex were held before the Norman Conquest are considered.

In the Anglo-Saxon period land was classified by the terms under which it was held. The law code of Edward the Elder which was intended to facilitate the settlement of disputes over title to land mentions folkland and bookland, which were evidently the principal types of tenure.[2] Owners of either could lease their holdings, and while it was let the estate would be the læenland of the tenant. The chief characteristics of these three types of tenure are examined in the succeeding pages.

Folkland

For much of the nineteenth century the view prevailed that folkland was public property, and belonged to the English nation as its ager publicus.[3] However, in 1897 Professor Vinogradoff, by carefully considering the documentary references to folkland,

1. Chapters 2-5.
2. I Edward 2, F Lieberman, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen i (1903), 140, a law code of the first quarter of the tenth century, which begins "Eac we cwaedon, hwaes se wyrde waere þe oðrum ryhtes wyrnde aðor oðde on boclande oðde folclande...". The two terms also appear together in a reply to a question about the penalty for adultery, quoted by F Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (1975), p 309 fn 5. Edward's law code, and its wider implications are examined by A G Kennedy, 'Disputes about 'bocland': the forum of their adjudication', Anglo-Saxon England 14 (1985), 175-195, esp. 180-181.
3. The historiography is briefly surveyed by Stenton, op cit, p 310, and Kennedy, art cit, 175-177. For an example of the nineteenth century view see J M Kemble, The Saxons in England i, (1849), 292-313.

suggested that it was land held by folkright, as bookland was held by bookright. It was, he believed, 'land held under the old restrictive common law, the law which keeps land in families, as contrasted with land which is held under a book... making for free alienation and individualism.'[1] When Vinogradoff wrote he knew of only three references to folkland, although by 1971 Stenton was able to add two more.[2] Of the three texts considered by Vinogradoff, one, the law code of Edward, has already been mentioned.[3] The second document to refer to folkland is the will of Ealdorman Alfred, made between 871 and 889.[4] The evidence it contains is of crucial importance since it suggests that whilst it was possible to bequeath bookland to a beneficiary of the testator's choice, folkland could not be disposed of in the same way.[5] Among other bequests Alfred left to his son AEthelwold three hides of bookland, and some folkland, if the king were willing to grant it to him with the bookland.[6] Elsewhere in his will Alfred left a hide of bookland to a kinsman named Brihtsige, underlining its heritable nature.[7]

1. P Vinogradoff, 'Folkland', EHR 8 (1893), 1-17. The quotation comes from page 11.
2. Op cit, p 310. In addition to the answer to the question about adultery already referred to, the term bookland also occurs in a poem entitled 'The Wife's Complaint', although there it simply means 'country' - ibid.
3. Vinogradoff, art cit, 6-9, perhaps read more into these clauses than the text allows.
4. ASCh No 1508, the text is printed in F E Harmer, Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries (1914), No x, pp 13-15, and notes, pp 88-91; with a translation in EHD i No 97, 537-539.
5. Vinogradoff, art cit, 10-11.
6. "gif se cyning him geunnan wille þes folclondes to ðam boclonde, þonne hebbe he & bruce". It was the view of the authorities cited in note 4 that AEthelwold was illegitimate.
7. "On 'd' ic sello Berhtsige minum mege an hide boclondes on Lencanfelda & þerto c swina".

The final document to mention folkland is a charter of 858 in which AEthelred king of Wessex granted to Wulflaf his minister, land at Wassingwell in exchange for an estate of the same size at Mersham.[1] Wulflaf's Mersham holding had been held free of royal service, and that at Wassingwell was to be similarly freed when it passed from the king to his minister.[2] The charter recording this transaction was endorsed in Anglo-Saxon to the effect that 'the king made the land at Mersham into folkland for himself when they had exchanged the lands.'[3] The result of the exchange was that certain public burdens previously provided from the estate at Wassingwell were transferred to Mersham when the latter passed to the king, so that Wulflaf continued to enjoy his land (albeit a different estate) free from all royal exactions except military service, and work on bridges and fortifications.[4] Not only does this charter define the obligations owed to the king by the holders of bookland (for which see further below), it also demonstrates that holders of folkland were obliged to render tribute to the king in the form of customary services. An indication of what these might include is given in the thegn's law section of the Rectitudines Singularium Personarum, a compilation dating from the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.[5] Among the liabilities owed by a thegn from his land

1. ASCh No 328, the only surviving text of which is the original ninth century diploma, printed in E W de G Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum ii (1887), No 496, 100-101, and translated in EHD i, No 93, 530-531. Note also Vinogradoff's views, art cit, 12-13.
2. "et Passingbellan ego Edelbearht ab omni servitute regali operis eternaliter liverabo sicut ante fuerat illa prenominata terra".
3. "se cyning dyde det land et mersaham him to folclande da hie dem landum ieh þ erfed hæfdan".
4. "liventer largitus sum et omnium regalium tributum et vi exactorum operum et penalium rerum principali dominatione furisque comprehensione et cuncta seculari gravidine absque expeditione sola et pontium structura et arcium munitionibus secura et inmunis permaneat".
5. Dated ?1042-1066 in EHD ii, No 172, p 875-879. For edition of the Saxon text see Liebermann, op cit, i, 444-453.

that was not bookland were service connected with the deer fence at the king's residence, equipping a guard ship, guarding the coast, and the lord, military watch, almsgiving, church dues, and many other things as ordered by the king.[1]

In summary, it can be said that Edward's law code demonstrated that in Anglo-Saxon England land was either bookland or folkland, that Alfred's will indicates that folkland could not be bequeathed to a beneficiary of the testator's choice without the permission of the king,[2] while AEthelred's charter suggests that folkland was subject to possibly unlimited royal service.[3]

Bookland

The preceding section has shown that folkland was held by folkright, while an estate of bookland was held according to the privileges stated in a book, or charter.[4] Bookland was created by an Anglo-Saxon king issuing with the consent of his witan a charter which identified the estate whose status was to be changed from folkland, granted its recipient immunity from most secular burdens, and gave him liberty to dispose of the estate he chose.

1. "Eac of manegum landum mare landricht arist to cyniges gebanne, swilce is deorhege to cyniges hame & scorp to fridscipe & saeweard & heafodweard & fyrdweard, aelmsfeoh & cyricsceat & maenige odere mistlice ding".
2. It would presumably be necessary for him to book the land before this were possible, as explained elsewhere with reference to the specific case of the manor of West Mersea, P B Boyden, 'Mersea before 1046: a reconsideration', EAH 15 (1983), 173-175. See also the other references cited below, p 134 n 1.
3. It should be noted that Eric John advanced the theory that the 'folk' of folkland were warriors rather than kinship groups, a view that relied upon a certain interpretation of Bede's letter to Archbishop Ecgberht, considered further below. The conclusions reached in 'Folkland Reconsidered', in his Orbis Britanniae and other Studies (1966), pp 64-127, have not generally been accepted by other scholars.
4. There is a considerable body of literature on bookland, and the charters that created it. In addition to the works cited below, Professor Whitelock's essay on 'Charters', EHD i, 369-380, with a full bibliography, 384-387, is particularly valuable, as is N P Brooks 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: the work of the last twenty years', Anglo-Saxon England 3 (1974), 211-231. Although in some respects superseded by later work, F E Harmer's notes on writs and diplomas, Anglo-Saxon Writs (1952), pp 34-41, still contain much that is relevant to the study of bookland and charters.

The oldest extant original Anglo-Saxon charter is that issued by King Hlothhere of Kent in 679, which records the grant of land in Thanet to Abbot Berhtwald of Reculver.[1] This is perhaps apposite, since it is clear that charters, and bookland, were introduced into England by the church in order that kings and others could provide its institutions with a permanent landed endowment freed from the restrictions of descent within the folk that burdened folkland.[2] However, laymen were also able to have land booked to them, sometimes as endowments for family monasteries. This development had, according to Bede, so reduced the amount of land available to support the 'men who defend our territory from barbarian invasion', that potential warriors had either left the country or were devoting themselves to loose living. In a letter to Archbishop Egbert he urged him and the king to annul earlier charters issued to the useless monasteries, in order to make available land to reward fighting men, and ensure the protection of the kingdom.[3] Laymen sought to possess bookland so that they could obtain hereditary rights over it, whereas the church required it in order to keep it in perpetuity as an endowment to support the servants of God.[4]

1. ASCh No 7, considered at length by P Wormald, Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence (1984), pp 3-7. There are few earlier charters that survive as cartulary copies, EHD i, 375.
2. Vinogradoff, art cit, 14, was of the opinion that King AEthelwulf of Wessex booked South Hams to himself in 847 so that he could give it for pious purposes. The charter is ASCh No 298, translated with valuable notes in EHD i, No 88, 522-524. It should however be noted that the church did hold folkland, as John considered, art cit, pp 90-91, and 102.
3. The letter is printed in C Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica (1866), i, 405-423, with commentary, ii, 378-388; and is translated in EHD i, No 170, 799-810. It is considered by Wormald, op cit, pp 19 ff; N Brooks, 'The Development of Military Obligations in eighth and ninth-century England', in P Clemoes & K Hughes (eds), England before the Conquest (1971), pp 74-75; and John, art cit, pp 80-83.
4. Wormald, op cit, pp 20-22.

Charters issued during the Anglo-Saxon period were solemn, formal documents, normally written in Latin, and witnessed by the king and the leading members of the witan - senior clerics and important laymen. It was previously believed that charters were introduced into England by Theodore, who occupied the see of Canterbury between 669 and 690, but it now seems more likely that there were a number of different sources of inspiration behind these diplomas, as various as the sources of Anglo-Saxon Christianity itself.[1] Although royal documents issued in the king's name, the earliest charters were probably written by the beneficiaries of the grants they recorded.[2] There are however strong reasons for believing that later in the Anglo-Saxon period charters were produced by royal clerks at the meetings of the royal councils where the grants of bookland were made.[3] Since the creation of bookland resulted in a loss of revenue and service to the royal feorm the issuing of charters that created it was necessarily carefully controlled, and required the consent of the king and his witan.[4] The possession of the charter established ownership to the land mentioned in it, and when an estate changed hands the

1. This is the conclusion to emerge from Wormald's thorough analysis of the form and origins of the English charters of the period 673-762, op cit, pp 7-19. His view is not entirely new, since it was also advanced by P Chaplais in his 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Augustine', Jnl of the Society of Archivists, III, 10 (1969), 526-542, esp 535 ff. His earlier study, 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', ibid, III, 2 (1965) 48-61 is also relevant to this topic. For a summary account of the old view see EHD i, 377, and in more detail W Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century (1946), esp pp 224-233.
2. Wormald, op cit, p 9.
3. This is considered in detail by Keynes, The Diplomas of King AEthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016 (1980), chapter 2, pp 14 ff, who concluded that from the ninth century charters were produced by a 'permanent office' of scribes attached to the royal household, and that the creation of a royal writing officer may have been one of the results of the reunification of England under AEthelstan, ibid, pp 79-83. For a contrary view see P Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: From the Diploma to the writ', Jnl of the Society of Archivists III, 4 (1966), 160-176.
4. These losses were considered by John, art cit, pp 108 ff.

original charter was passed on to the new owner.[1]

Most charters of the seventh century did not grant the recipient of bookland immunity from secular services,[2] but from the 730s charters stated that estates had been freed from all services except certain liabilities vital to the defence of the kingdom. From Kent and Wessex are recorded the liability of holders of bookland to provide men for the army, while at the Synod of Gumley in 749 it was agreed that men should be sent from church estates in Mercia to help with the work on bridges and fortifications, but be exempt from providing labour for repairs to royal vills and halls.[3] However, by 796 at the latest, the obligation to provide men for the Mercian army had been added to the other obligations required of holders of bookland in the kingdom.[4] The dates at which these obligations, the trinoda necessitas, were imposed upon bookland varied in the different English kingdoms.[5] In Kent it was as early as 792, while in Wessex all three did not appear until 855-60. It is possible that service in the army was an ancient obligation throughout Anglo-Saxon England,[6] to which the duties of bridge work and making of fortifications were added.

1. Keynes, op cit, pp 33-34. In EHD i, 531 the words 'landes boec' of the endorsement of AEthelred's charter considered above were translated as 'deeds'.
2. One that did was that issued by Wihtred, king of Kent in 699, which confirmed the privileges of the church in Kent, ASCh No 20.
3. These developments are considered fully by Brooks, art cit, pp 75-77. The charter issued after the Synod of Gumley is ASCh No 92.
4. Brooks, art cit, p 78.
5. The fundamental study of these obligations is W H Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', EHR 29 (1914), 689-703, upon which Brooks' paper and all other work is based.
6. The laws of Ine (688-694) laid down penalties for the neglect of military service, including the loss of land and a 120 shilling fine by a nobleman holding land - Ine 51, Lieberman, op cit, 112 - "Gif gesid cund mon landagende forsitte fierd, geselle CXX scill. & dolie his landes; unlandagende LX scill.; cierlisc XXX scill. to fierdwite".

In Wessex the reservation of the latter coincided with the commencement of Alfred's burh building campaign, while in Kent the trinoda necessitas were first mentioned in charters issued at the time when Viking raids on the kingdom began.[1]

The implications of diplomas such as that issued at the Synod of Gumley is that the obligation to provide men for the army, and to work on bridges and fortifications was owed by the holders of all the land of the kingdom, both bookland and folkland. The significance of the trinoda necessitas is that these three of the communal obligations owed to the king were to be performed by holders of bookland, even though all the other liabilities and dues had been removed by the grant of a royal charter. This view is also supported by some entries in Domesday Book. For example, in the customs of Chester it was recorded how one man from each hide in the shire was to be sent when summoned by the reeve to repair the walls and bridge of the city,[2] while in Berkshire it was recorded that one man was to go from every five hides to serve with the king's army.[3] In both cases the lords who failed to send men when summoned were either fined, or, if they completely ignored the order to supply men for the army, were liable to lose their land. This obligation to provide

1. For Wessex see Brooks, art cit, pp 81-82, and Kent, ibid, pp 79-80.
2. DB i, f 262b - "Ad muru' civitatis & ponte' reedificand de una quo' hida comitat' unu' ho'em uenire p'posit' ediceb'. Cuj' ho' n' uenito d'ns ej' XL sol' em'dab' regi & comiti".
3. Ibid, f 56b - "Si rex mitteb' alicubi exercitu' de v hid' tant' un' miles ibat & ad ej' victu' + stipendiu' de una quaq' hida dabant' ei IIII solidi ad II menses. Hos uo denar' regi n' mittebant' sed militib' dabant'. Siq's in expeditione' sumonit' n' ibat' totā t'ra sua' erga rege' foriffaciebat. Q'd siq's remanendi h'ns aliu p' se mittere p'mitteret & tam' q' mittendus erat remaneret' p' L sol' q'etus erat d'ns ei'". Brooks noted that similar obligations existed in the Carolingian empire, art cit, pp 70-71.

men for the fyrd has been reconsidered by Dr Abels, who believed that evidence contained in law codes and other sources implied that bookland was a dependent tenure held directly of the king,[1] and that the 'obligation to serve [in the fyrd] lay not so much upon the land as upon the landholders, and then only upon those who held by book-right or by royal loan.'[2]

While there is much of value in Abels' paper on the organisation of the fyrd, his interpretation of the obligations of landholders to serve in the army themselves, or to provide others to do so, seems to miss the point of the exclusion of the trinoda necessitas from immunities granted to recipients of bookland. These obligations fell upon all landholders, as is clear from the fact that those with estates freed from most communal obligations still had to perform them. The same point is made in the Domesday accounts of the customs of Chester and Berkshire, where men were summoned from every hide, and five hides, not just from bookland, and the lords were to provide the required number of men according to the assessment of their estates. In addition, although there are references in the laws to the loss of land through cowardice or failure to serve in the fyrd, instances of actual forfeiture are few,[3] and the nature of bookright was such as to permanently alienate the estate from

1. R Abels, 'Bookland and Fyrd Service in late Saxon England', in R A Brown (ed) Anglo-Norman Studies VII (1985), 5.
2. Ibid, 15.
3. In fact Abels was unable to quote one, although he did cite the case of forfeiture for breaking the king's peace when on campaign, with an apparently incorrect reference to ASCh; ibid, fn 6, 2-3.

the royal feorm, rather than to create the type of dependent that Abels envisaged.[1]

By the 730s the amount of land that had been booked to laymen was so large that Bede was afraid that the stock of folkland at the king's disposal had been reduced to a smaller size than was prudent for national security. This was probably an exaggeration, for during the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon period land was booked to laymen in increasing quantities. The higher survival rate of charters in favour of ecclesiastical institutions than those issued to laymen prevents the calculation of accurate figures,[2] but of the 589 grants known to have been made by kings during the course of the tenth century a little over half (296) were to laymen, and it seems by 1066 there were few folkland estates left outside the royal demesne.[3]

1. II Cnut 77 (Liebermann, op cit, 364) stated that a man who deserted his lord was to lose his possessions and his life to the lord, although if he held bookland it would revert to the king, 77.1.VI AEthelred 35 (Ibid, 256 reads "& gif hwa of fyrde butan leafe gewende, þe cyning sylf on sy, plihte his aðe." See also the Berkshire DB entry referred to above. The alienation of estates is commented upon by Wormald, op cit, p 20, and E John Land Tenure in Early England (1964), p 49.
2. This subject is considered by Keynes, op cit, pp 1-4 in his section on 'the preservation of royal diplomas.'
3. P A Stafford, 'Royal Government in the reign of AEthelred II AD 979-1016', unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis 1973, pp 372-374. The problem of distinguishing between bookland and folkland in Essex is considered further below, pp 44-47.

Laenland

The earliest references to the leasing of land in Anglo-Saxon England occur in the laws of Ine, which date from the late seventh century.[1] The relevant clauses specified that prior to giving up a lease the tenant should cultivate a certain percentage of the land,[2] and that if a man took an estate at a fixed rent and ploughed it, if the lord later required service from him as well as rent the tenant was not obliged to take the land if the lord did not give him a dwelling, but he would forfeit the crops that he had sown.[3] The earliest lease to have survived dates from shortly after this law code was issued, and records that between 718 and 745 Wilfrd, bishop of the Hwicce leased land at Bibury, Gloucestershire, to Leppa comes, and his daughter Beage for two lives.[4]

An important period for the development of leasehold tenure in Anglo-Saxon England was the episcopate of Oswald, bishop of Worcester.[5] Between 962 and 992 he executed 70 leases, letting 180 of the cathedral's manors, including 190 hides of the triple hundred of Oswaldslaw.[6] Not only have the texts of many of Oswald's leases survived, but also a letter that he wrote to King Edgar explaining the terms under which he let estates to his 'faithful men'.[7] The occasion for writing the letter may have been, as Maitland suggested, to thank the king for the grant of jurisdiction over what became Oswaldslaw.[8] Comparison of the terms upon which Oswald let the estates with the duties mentioned in the

1. Liebermann, op cit, 118, Ine 64-67. For a general survey of leasehold tenure before the Conquest see Stenton, op cit pp 484-486, and 681-683.
2. Clauses 64-66, give the proportions respectively as 12 out of 20, 10 out of 6, and 1 out of 3.
3. Clause 67, "Gif mon geþingað gyrde landes oþþe mare to rædegafole & geered, gif se hlaford him wile þaet land araeran to weorce & gafole, ne þearf he him onfon, gif he him han botl ne sel, & þolie para aecra".
4. ASCh No 1254, the text only survives in one eleventh century manuscript. The two lives were presumably those of Leppa and Beage themselves.
5. J A Robinson, St Oswald and The Church of Worcester, (1919), gives an account of his episcopate, with some remarks on pp 16-20 on his charters, although the main concern is to identify the members of the bishop's familia who witnessed them. A brief survey is to be found in VCH Worcs ii, 4-5, but the subject of the leases is ignored by Round in his introduction to the Worcestershire Domesday, VCH Worcs i, 235-280, notwithstanding the references to the leasing of of the estates in the account of the 'fief of the church of Worcester', DB i, ff 172-174. The fullest study of Oswald's leases is to be found in Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond (1960 ed), pp 357-368 in his chapter on 'Book-Land and Loan Land'.
6. These figures are derived from ibid p 357, and VCH Worcs ii, 4. The leases are ASCh Nos 1297-1375.
7. Printed by J M Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici vi (1848) No 1287, 124-126, and translated and discussed by Maitland, op cit pp 358-361.
8. This took place in 964, ASCh No 731. Some 33 manuscript versions of the grant are listed, of which the earliest dates from the twelfth century.

Rectitudines suggests that the bishop was obtaining for the church many of the dues and services that the king received from folkland. Among other requirements the Worcester tenants were to serve as riding men, pay all their church dues, be subject to the commands of the bishop, and be ready to supply his needs, including lending him horses. They were also to be ready to build bridges, erect hedges for the bishop's hunt, and meet any other of his wants.[1] Oswald stated that he had let the estates 'per spatium temporis trium hominum, id est duorum post se haeredum', and this term remained the normal length of a lease until the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.[2]

The men who leased the Worcester estates were thegns and ministri of the bishop, and many of the obligations they owed would have been fulfilled by their men. The leasing of estates brought advantages to both sides in the agreement, and was probably widespread in later Anglo-Saxon England. The tenant was able to increase the extent of his land and also to enlarge the sphere of his influence at less cost than would have been necessary to purchase an estate outright,[3] while for the lessor (usually an ecclesiastical dignitary or institution)[4] it was a useful way of receiving income and service from land that he did not need to farm directly himself.[5]

1. Cf the obligations of the thegn, as already noted above, pp 33-34. from the Rectitudines. The similarity in the requirement to erect a deer fence (Rectitudines), and hedges for the hunt (Oswald) should be noted.
2. The length of Anglo-Saxon leases is considered further in Chapter 5, below pp 170-171.
3. The price of land, and its effect on leasing practice is considered further in Chapter 5, pp 171-172.
4. In Essex all the land known to have been leased was done so by the church. Examples from elsewhere are considered by Maitland, op cit pp 354-357.
5. It will be suggested that Ely Abbey, and Christ Church Cathedral Priory Canterbury, let those of their estates in Essex that were too far away to be able to provide fresh food for the monks; below, p 144.

Conclusion

The preceding discussion has demonstrated the considerable differences in the obligations owed to the king by holders of folkland, and bookland. It has also been shown that while bookland was created by the issuing of charters, there was no associated documentation relating to the tenure of folkland. While it is possible to identify estates recorded in Domesday Book as bookland because they were also mentioned in pre-Conquest charters,[1] it does not necessarily follow that all the other holdings recorded in 1086 that are not described in surviving diplomas were folkland, since it is clear that only a small percentage of those issued have survived to modern times. Indeed, it seems that some of them did not survive very long at all, since there are a number of Essex estates held by religious institutions in 1066 for which there is no pre-Conquest documentation. The estates of Barking Abbey, detailed in Table 6 (page 103) included ten holdings not recorded before the compilation of Domesday, and of these two were let, and another was the sizable manor of Great Wigborough.[2] In particular, the survival rate of charters booking land to laymen is very low, and from the entire Anglo-Saxon period Hart listed in his The Early Charters of Essex only two diplomas in which land was booked to laymen,[3] compared with 11 in favour of the church.[4] However, the large number of wills made by laymen, of which Hart listed 15,[5] and other records of land grants by them,[6] demonstrate the extent to which they held bookland, even if few of the charters that created it have survived.

1. For example, the grant of Bocking, and its berewick Bocking Hall in West Mersea to Christ Church Canterbury in 995 x 999 by AEthelric and Leofwyn, ECE No 30. This manor was still held by the monks in 1086 (and 1066), and is identifiable in Domesday, DB ii, f 8.
2. Wigborough, assessed at 11½ hides 13 acres, and with 3 houses in Colchester, was valued in 1066 at £12, DB ii, ff 18, 107. It is presumed that these estates were bought by the church from laymen, see further below, pp 101-104.
3. ECE No 15, Edgar's grant of Hamme to AEthelstan comes in 957, and the same king's gift to Ingeram the thegn of Vange in 963, ibid, No 19.
4. ECE Nos 1, AEthelbert's gift of Tillingham to St Paul's, 604 x 616; 2, Suidfrid's donation of Berecingas et Beddanhaam to Barking, c666; 7, Suebred's gift of land in Deningei to Ingwald, bishop of London, 706 x 709; 9, Edgar's gift to St Paul's of Navestock, 867; 12, Eadred's donation to Eawynn a nun of land at Shopland, 946; 14, Eadwig's gift to Brihthelm, bishop of London, of Orsett, 957; 21, Edgar's donation to Archbishop Dunstan of 1½ 'cassati' at Cealuadun(e) in 967; 36, AEthelred's grant to Ely of Littlebury, 1004; 39, the same king's donation to Eynsham of Lawling, 1005; 41, his sale of land at Hadstock, Stretley Green, and Linton (Cambs) to Ely in 1008; and 63, Edward's grant to St Ouen of West Mersea, 1046. For the purposes of this analysis it has been assumed that these diplomas record actual transactions by the kings specified at the dates indicated.
5. ECE Nos 13, AElfgar, ealdorman of Essex, 946 x 951; 17, AEdgiva, grandmother of King Edgar, 961 x 964; 18, AEthelflaed, 962 x 991; 24, AElfhelh, 989; 25, Ealdorman Brihtnoth, 991; 27, AEthelric, c995; 32, Leofwine, son of Wulfstan, 998; 34, AElfflaed, widow of Brihtnoth, 1000 x 1002; 44, Godgifu, widow of an ealdorman, 1022 x 1029; 46, Leofgifu 1035 x 1044; 47, Lustwine, c1036; 49 Thurstan, 1042 x 1043; 59 Thurstan, 1043 x 1045; 64 Wulfgyth, 1046; and 66, Ketel, 1052 x 1066.
6. Hart listed 10 - ECE Nos 8, Leofstan's to Christ Church 823; 30, AEthelric and Leofwyn's, also to Christ Church, 995 x 999; 31, AEtheliva's grant to Ely, 996 x 1009; 35, Leofwine's grant to the same house, 1002 x c1016; 37, AEthelflaed's grant to St Paul's, c1004 x 1012; 43, grant of Stapleford Abbots to Bury, donor unknown, 1013; 52, Godwine and Wulfgyth's gift to Christ Church, 1042 x 1066; 53, Godwine's donation to the same house, 1042 x 1066; 58, Eadgyva's gift to St Paul's, 1042 x 1066; and 60, Wulfstan's gift to Ramsey Abbey, 1043 x 1046.

The principal source of information on landholding in late Anglo-Saxon Essex is Domesday Book. In their descriptions of the estates in the shire the scribes usually recorded the names of the individuals or religious institutions who held them in 1066,[1] although they did not normally record the terms by which the estates were held,[2] and never identified a manor as having been folkland,[3] bookland,[4] or laenland. It is sometimes possible to identify from their Domesday descriptions estates that were leased before the Conquest,[5] but much of the information on terms of tenure relates to the post-Conquest period, since those that obtained before the time of King William were normally of no practical use in 1086.[6] Indeed, it appears that during the redistribution of estates that followed the Norman Conquest William's tenants-in-chief, on being granted the estates of a Saxon landholder or landholders, took over not only his bookland and folkland, but also any holdings that he had leased, often to the loss of the ultimate owner of the laenland.[7]

It has already been demonstrated that in the majority of cases it is not possible to ascertain whether an estate described in Domesday had been folkland or bookland before 1066. While the surviving pre-Conquest diplomas enable some holdings to be identified as bookland, and also suggest ways that individuals and churches were able to accumulate land, they represent only a small and unrepresentative sample of the once-extant documentation on landholding in Essex before the Norman Conquest. For this reason the succeeding chapters are concerned with the amount of land held by individuals and ecclesiastical institutions, rather than whether their estates were folkland or bookland. While the differences between these types of tenure are not forgotten, it is not possible to give them a prominent part in the analyses that form the core of the first part of this study.

1. If they did not give the names of individuals they normally specified the social group to which they belonged, as is considered in more detail in Chapter 3, pp 90ff.
2. There were exceptions, which are discussed in Chapter 9, but generally this statement holds true, particularly for the larger holders of land, both lay and ecclesiastical.
3. Even in the case of Norton Mandeville, where the scribes recorded that St Paul's held the estate without the king's writ or permission, they were not referring to pre-Conquest bookland but to a post-Conquest 'invasion', DB ii, f 13.
4. It will be suggested in Chapter 3, p 90 that the land held by groups of unnamed freemen independent of manors was probably folkland.
5. An example of a pre-Conquest lease was the tenure by Sigeweard of 1½ hides of the Ely manor of Rettendon, which the monks were trying to regain from Ranulf Peverel his 'successor' in 1086; DB ii, ff 19, and 51.
6. This is presumably why the Domesday Commissioners were not required to ascertain them, according to the 'questionnaire' in the 'Inquisitio Eliensis, f 1; EHD ii No 215, 946.
7. The transference of estates is considered generally by R W Finn, The Eastern Counties (1967), pp 11-35, and leased land specifically, ibid, pp 136-138, Benstead Green may be considered as an example of a leased estate lost after the Conquest. It belonged to Ely Abbey, was let by Abbot Wulfric to his brother Gudmund 1045 x 1066 (ECE No 62 is a record of the arrangement), but was held in 1086 by Hugh de Montfort, DB ii, f 54. Ely's attempts to recover property that it lost to the Norman newcomers is considered by E Miller, 'The Ely Land Pleas of the Reign of William I', EHR 62 (1947), 438-456.

Chapter 3. The Lay Landholders of Late Anglo-Saxon Essex

Introduction

The only existing study of the lay landholders of late Anglo-Saxon Essex is that which Round included in his introduction to the county Domesday text in the Victoria County History.[1] He identified and commented upon both major landholders and lesser men with unusual names which made them easy to trace in Domesday Book using Ellis's index.[2] Into the first category fell 'Ansgar', Robert fitz Wimarc, 'Gudmund' and 'Wisgar', and into the second, AElfric Camp, Leofwine Cilt, 'Sexi' and AElfric Wants. Round was not principally interested in the landholders of 1066 for their own sake, but as the predecessors of the Normans who succeeded to their estates.[3] However, in the absence of a thorough survey of pre-Conquest personal names of the type published in 1937 by von Feilitzen[4] it would have been difficult for Round to have said very much more on the Essex landholders of 1066. Not only have these Saxon landholders received little scholarly attention as a group, few of them have been studied in detail as individuals. Of those who held land in Essex the best documented are King Harold (107) and Robert fitz Wimarc (147).[5]

1. J H Round, 'Introduction to the Essex Domesday', VCH Ex i, 351-356.
2. Sir Henry Ellis, A General Introduction to the Domesday Book (1833) ii, 1-273 - 'Index of persons, monasteries, &c. entered in Domesday Book as holding lands in the time of King Edward the Confessor, and through later years anterior to the formation of the survey.'
3. This is demonstrated by the guide to the contents of his introduction to the DB text in VCH Ex i, 333, which reads 'The baron's fiefs... Their English predecessors...'
4. O von Feilitzen, The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book (1937). His spellings have been generally followed in this study.
5. Numbers in brackets refer to entries in the Appendix of pre-Conquest Essex landholders at the conclusion of this study. For Harold and Robert see further below, pp69ffand 79ffrespectively.

Reaney's note[1] on AElfwine Godtuna (40) is the only known study of the estates of a minor landholder, whilst Fisher's work on Thurstan, son of Wine is important for the light it sheds on the 1066 possessions of his widow AEdelgyd (24).[2]

Using von Feilitzen's expansions and interpretations of the abbreviated and phonetically-spelled names of the pre-Conquest Essex landholders recorded in Domesday the Appendix to this study has been compiled. It contains an alphabetical list of the 1066 landholders with details of their estates. From this 'Domesday Survey' the pattern of landholding and the structure of society in late Anglo-Saxon Essex have been reconstructed, the first such attempt for any shire.

Statistical Introduction

Using methods described in the Appendix it has been possible to identify 324 individuals who in 1066 held land in Essex.[3] In all they had 614.5 estates, and the way in which these were distributed between them is shown in Table 1 (page 50). In it the landholders are grouped by the number of estates that they held, although for each group the arithmetic mean, and the range of their holdings' extents are also given. The table shows that the majority of landholders had only a few estates each, and that there were only a small number with large numbers of holdings or extensive amounts of land. Indeed, there appears to be a division in the table

1. P H Reaney, 'A Saxon land-owner of Essex birth', TEAS xxv n.s. (1955), 109-10.
2. Rev J L Fisher, 'Thurstan, son of Wine', ibid, xxii n.s. (1936) 98-104.
3. The figures presented here differ from those published in P B Boyden, 'J H Round and the beginning of the modern study of Domesday Book; Essex and beyond', EAH 12 (1980), 11-24, principally because here all the estates have been assigned to hypothetical individuals, whereas in the article only those which could be assigned with a reasonable degree of certainty were included.

Holdings per individual	Individuals with that number of holdings	Average geld assessment of land per individual; or actual extents of singletons	Maximum and minimum extents of individuals' holdings
1/13	1	3 acres	
¼	4	16.5 acres	
1/3	1	21.3 acres	
½	17	1.53 hides	15 acres - 2.5 hides
1	183	1.97 hides	1 acre - 10.5 hides
1½	5	2.55 hides	0.75 hide 15 acres - 4,5 hides 38 acres
2	52	4.47 hides	70 acres - 16.5 hides
2½	1	3.5 hides 4.5 acres	
3	27	6.71 hides	0.5 hides 20 acres - 23 hides
3½	1	7.75 hides 10 acres	
4	12	11.19 hides	3.5 hides - 24 hides 35 acres
5	3	14 hides	6½ hides 56½ acres - 28 hides 110 acres
6	3	9 hides	3 hides 100 acres - 16.25 hides
7	4	24.65 hides	13.75 - 37.5 hides
8	3	32.75 hides	22.75 - 40 hides
9	3	25 hides	16 - 37 hides 75 acres
12	1	32.5 hides	
14	1	73 hides	
15	1	51.5 hides	
28	1	190.7 hides	

Table 1 Distribution of estates amongst lay landholders in 1066 Essex

between those who each held fewer than five estates, and those with five or more. The latter group of 20 individuals (6% of the total) had between them some 29% of the 614.5 holdings under consideration, whilst 64% of the 324 landholders had only one estate each. These figures strongly suggest that landholding society in Essex on the eve of the Norman Conquest was dominated by a few individuals with extensive tracts of land, who were likely to have been much wealthier and more influential than the majority of their less affluent contemporaries.

Throughout this study the number of estates held by a landholder has generally been taken as an indication of his wealth and influence. It would also be possible to use for this purpose either the geld assessment of his estates, or their 1066 value; or indeed a combination of all three. However none of these facets alone can convey a totally satisfactory impression of the landed wealth of an individual or institution. Whilst the number of estates held by a landholder is easy to compute, holdings of varying sizes count equally in the total. For example, Deorwulf's four geld acres at Alphamstone[1] rank equally with Sigeweard's 16½ hide manor at Debden.[2] There is also the possibility of under-estimation, since it is known that a few estates were omitted from the Essex text by the Domesday scribes.[3] There are also a small number of occasions upon which they forgot to record the extent of a holding,[4] although a more

1. DB ii, f 102
2. Ibid, f 73
3. The Waltham Holy Cross estate of Netteswell is an obvious case; see further below, pp 135-137.
4. Such as Fingrith (DB ii, f 5) and White Notley (ibid, f 26b), both estates held in 1066 by King Harold; see further below, pp 69ff , especially p69 fn 2 .

serious constraint upon the use of hidage as a measure of wealth is that it describes the tax-liability of an estate rather than its actual extent.[1] Round detected ten instances of beneficial hidation in the Essex Domesday,[2] and there may also have been instances of over-assessment as well. Moreover, the clumsy assessments of many estates can lead to mathematical error during calculations.[3] Similar problems arise in the addition of estate values, although more serious are the uncertainties about what the values actually represented,[4] and the fact that for the smaller holdings 1066 values were not always recorded.[5] The data is thus far less complete than for the other indicators, and of the three, the least satisfactory to use.

1. On hidation generally, and the reduction of the assessment of Northamptonshire in the eleventh century, see H R Loyn, The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1087 (1984), pp 119-122.
2. Two cases may be cited as examples: Broxted (DB ii, f 18b) was worth £3 in 1066, and £4 in 1086, but only assessed at 9 geld acres. High Easter (ibid, f 60) was worth £20 in 1066 and £30 twenty years later, but was only reckoned to be 2 hides - 'a very low hidation' as Round commented in VCH Ex i, 509, fn 4. This particular manor had belonged to the Abbey of Ely, and this may be an example of the beneficial hidation of ecclesiastical property.
3. The estates of Sigeweard of Maldon (157 in the Appendix), are an example of a group with some clumsy assessments, including the 5½ hides and 10 geld acres of Little Maldon (DB ii, f 73); and the ½ hide and 24 geld acres (or is it 84 acres?) of his holding in Maldon itself (ibid, f 75).
4. There are some interesting comments by Round on this problem in VCH Ex i, 364-5. The generally held view that there was no direct relationship between the value of an estate and its resources has been challenged by John McDonald and G D Snooks in their The Determinants of Rural Income in Domesday England: Evidence from Essex (1984) - a computer analysis of data for 1086.
5. For five of the 9 holdings invaded by Richard son of Count Gilbert of Clare, and described on folio 102b, no 1066 values are given.

In addition to the reasons outlined the number of estates held by an individual conveys better than either their assessment or value an impression of the distribution of his lands, and hence some measure of the spread of his influence. However, in many instances details of the extents of estates have been included here, and it is of interest to note that calculations and rank tables based on either the extent or the number of holdings of laymen give broadly similar results,[1] for example, the way in which the average amount of land held in each group in Table 1 tended to rise with the number of estates.

Essex landholders with estates in other shires

This study attempts to reconstruct the patterns of landholding and administration in Essex on the eve of the Norman invasion. Whilst, as later chapters will show, the shire is an appropriate unit within which to analyse administrative history, its boundaries are less relevant to the subject of landholding. In order to place in context the Essex estates of individual landholders it is necessary to consider not only their standing within the shire itself, but also the place of their Essex holdings in the totality of their landed wealth.

It is clear from the Appendix that the apportionment of estates in Essex between individual landholders has not always been easy, while to attempt to link those holding land in the shire with others of the same name who did so elsewhere is much more difficult. Indeed, it has only been possible to identify with any degree of confidence 34 Essex landholders who also held land in other shires. They are represented statistically in Table 2 (page54). Using criteria defined above (pp49-51) 61% of the 34 had fewer than 5 estates and were 'small' landholders within

1. It will be seen in Chapter 5 that the correlation is not so close with ecclesiastical landholders.

Column I Number of estates per individual	Column II Number of individuals with that number of estates	Column III Number of those in in Column II with estates outside Essex
1/13	1	
¼	4	
1/3	1	
½	17	
1	183	9
1½	5	
2	52	5
2½	1	
3	27	4
3½	1	
4	12	3
5	3	2
6	3	1
7	4	3
8	3	2
9	3	1
12	1	1
14	1	1
15	1	1
28	1	1

Table 2 Essex lay landholders in 1066 with estates in other shires

Essex; indeed, some 26% of them had only one estate in the shire. These figures are however deceptive, since of the total of 304 'small' Essex landholders only 7% had out-shire estates, compared with 65% of the 20 'large' ones. This preponderance of 'large' landholders is partly to be explained by the fact that they are generally easier to identify in the Domesday text than their less prosperous contemporaries.

Essex landholders with estates in other shires may be divided into three groups: major landholders, the majority of whose landed wealth[1] lay within Essex; major landholders whose Essex estates were peripheral to the centre of their activities elsewhere; and smaller men with few holdings in any shire. Robert fitz Wimarc (147) is a good example of an important landholder based in Essex. In 1066 he had a total of 16 estates, half of which lay within Essex.[2] Similarly, Sigeweard of Maldon (157) had 14 holdings in Essex, and only five outside it, all of which were in Suffolk. A major landholder whose chief sphere of influence lay elsewhere was Asgeirr (20). With 15 Essex estates (a total only exceeded by those of King Harold himself) he was the shire's second largest landholder. However he had holdings in a dozen others, with interests in 45 in Hertfordshire and 17 in Cambridgeshire.[3]

1. As quantified by the number of estates they held.
2. The others were in Suffolk (2), Cambridgeshire (1), Hertfordshire (1), Buckinghamshire (2), Somersetshire (1), and Herefordshire (1). See further below, pp 79 ff
3. These figures are derived from the number of references cited on pages 166-167 of von Feilitzen, op cit. In fact Asgeirr had only two Hertfordshire demesne estates in 1066, the rest of them were held by men of his. (See also below, p61, fn1). The statistics of Table 3 are similarly based on the number of references to an individual's name in von Feilitzen, which are not always the same as the number of estates they held; hence the disparity between some of the values for Essex estates between Table 3 and the details in the Appendix. Exceptionally, the figures for Engelric (75) and Robert fitz Wimarc (147) are the actual number of estates they held in 1066, since many of the references in von Feilitzen refer to post-Conquest acquisitions which are not found in the Domesday text in respect of the other landholders named in Table 3.

On a less extensive scale Guðmund (103) had seven Essex estates, but 19 in Suffolk and two in Norfolk. Many of those with few holdings had land in Essex and Suffolk only. Alsige (7) for instance had but one estate in each shire. Leofcild (117) was richer with 5 in Essex and 3 in Suffolk, whilst in an unusual distribution Ketill (113) had one estate each in Essex and Suffolk, and 7 in Norfolk.

Analysis of the shires in which Essex landholders held land suggests a strong bias towards those contiguous with or close to Essex. No fewer than 24 of the 28[1] had land in Suffolk; whilst 11 of them had estates in no other shire. Seven each had land in Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire, and six in Hertfordshire. Perhaps surprisingly only four had estates in Norfolk, and only three with land in Middlesex - the same number as Bedfordshire and Oxfordshire. They were followed by Berkshire and Northamptonshire with two each, and then seven shires in which only one landholder had estates - Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, Somersetshire, Surrey and Warwickshire.

It appears from Table 3 (page57) that with the exception of the members of Harold's family, only Asgeirr (20), Bondi (48), and Robert fitz Wimarc (147) held estates on anything like a national scale. The others were all basically local in the distribution of their landed wealth, and it would appear, in their political influence.[2]

1. For the purposes of this analysis the members of Harold's (the 'royal') family were excluded: Earl AElfgar (28), the Eadgifus (60), Harold himself (107), and Earls Tosti (173), and Walþiofr (181). Even though AElfgar had died in 1062 he was still said to have held land in Essex in 1066. On his death see F M Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (3rd edn, 1975), p575.
2. For example Sigeweard (157), and Wihtgar (183), on whom see further below, pp 61 ff, and Chapter 7 passim; and pp 84 ff respectively.

	Suffolk	Cambs	Bucks	Herts	Norfolk	Beds	Middx	Oxon	Berks	Northants	Derbs	Glos	Herefs	Hunts	Somerset	Surrey	Warwicks	Essex
Alsige (7)	1																	1
Asgeirr (16)	10	17	12	45	2	1	6	1	2	3						2	1	18
AEdelgyd (24)	3				14													5
AElfric Camp (36)	3	5																4
AElfwine G (40)				7														1
Bondi (48)			4			1		1	3	1		2						3
Eadweard (69)							1											1
Engleric (75)	2			5			1	1										3
Finnr (78)	19		2															4
Fridelbern (80)	3																	2
Godhere (85)	1																	2
Gudmund (103)	19				2													7
Ingvar (112)	1	2												1				7
Ketill (113)	2				7													1
Leofcild (117)	4																	5
Lefosunu (128)	5																	5
Leofwine C (132)	2			3		4					2							2
Leofwine Cr (133)	1																	2
Robert f W (147)	2	1	2	1									1		1			8
Saxi (148)	27	2		1														3
Sigeric (156)	1		1															2
Sigeweard (157)	5																	16
Skalpi (160)	6																	4
Sveinn S (165)	1		1															2
Tosti (173)	1																	1
Ulfr (180)		2	1															1
Wihtgar (183)	40															21		8
Wulfwine (199)	5	9																12

Table 3 Out-shire estates of Essex lay landholders in 1066

Social grouping of landholders

It is possible to arrange data derived from the Appendix to show the distribution of estates between social and occupational groups in Anglo-Saxon society. However, as Table 4 (page 59) shows the Domesday scribes failed to record details of status or occupation for more than a third of the named pre-Conquest landholders, thus making it impossible to draw firm conclusions on the relative wealth of the groups identified. A further limitation is the fact that the figures do not, for the most part, represent the total holdings of the landholders. The distribution of estates between 'large' and 'small' landholders inevitably reflects the division within landholding society as a whole, although the figures for thegns, freemen and sokemen, when compared, clearly show the general decline in wealth (and status) between them.[1]

The small sizes of the other groups makes further comments upon them unprofitable, but it is possible to say a little about the Essex holdings of thegns, freemen and sokemen. The distribution of 'large' and 'small' landholders within the three groups was:

	thegns	freemen	sokemen
'large' landholders	10	107	5
'small' landholders	6	5	0

Five hides came to be regarded as the minimum holding of a thegn,[2] and only three of those in 1066 Essex had less than that amount of land,[3] two had five hides each, and six more than 20. In Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire a thegn with more than six estates

1. See my comments on this subject and a diagramatic representation of the ranking of middle class society in late Anglo-Saxon Essex in P B Boyden, 'J H Round and Beginnings of the Modern Study of Domesday Book; Essex and Beyond', EAH 12 (1980), 21-22.
2. H R Loyn, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest (1970 edn), p216.
3. AEthelmaer (41) had 4 hides 50 acres. Ketill (113), held 2 hides in Essex, and Ulfr (180) 3½, although they both had estates in other shires (unlike AEthelmaer) which would have increased the total extent of their lands.

Number of estates	Social and occupational groups									
	Royal Family	Thegns	Freemen	Sokemen	Stallers	Housecarls	Reeves	Clergy	Women	Not stated
1/13		1								
¼										4
½		3					1			13
1	1	65	4			2	4	8		93
1½										5
2		19	1		1		2	1		27
2½		1								
3		14		1	1	1		1		7
3½		1								
4		3					1	1		6
5		1						1		
6	1	1								1
7		1								1
8	1	1								1
9	1	2								
12		1								
14			1							
15		1								
28	1									

Table 4 Distribution of estates amongst lay landholders by social and occupational groups in 1066 Essex

gave a relief of £8 to the king, whilst those with six or fewer paid 3 marks of silver to the sheriff,[1] a division of landholders not dissimilar to that adopted here (pp$^{49-51}$). There is little doubt that the thegns were the elite of landholding society in 1066, and it is also the case that the majority of named landholders were freemen; most of those whose status was not recorded in Domesday also probably belonged to this class. Few freemen had the resources to acquire large tracts of land, whilst the very small number of named sokemen recorded may be a reflection of their inability to obtain folkland, a subject discussed further later in this chapter (below, p93).

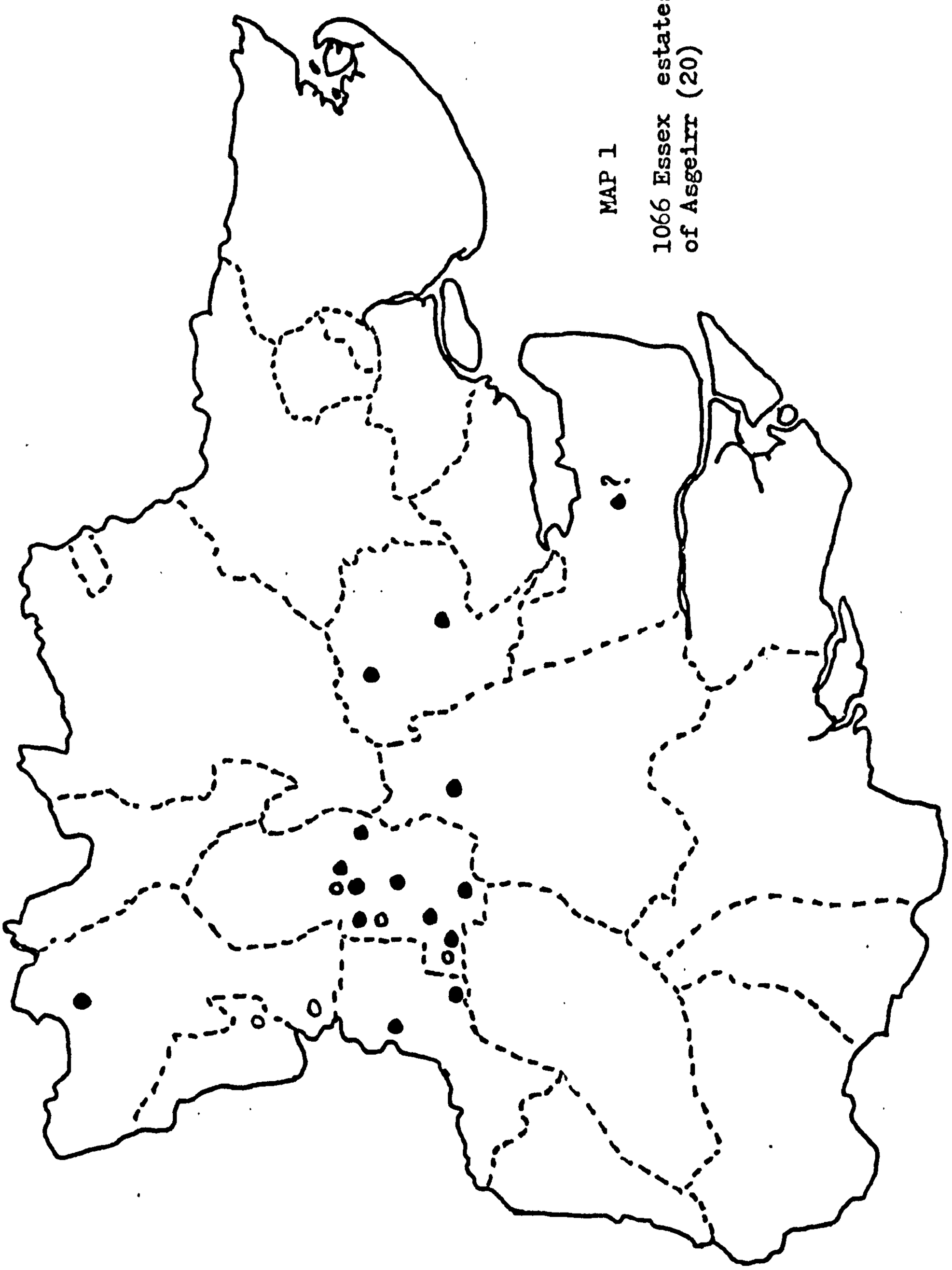
The distribution of estates between the lay landholders of Essex in 1066 forms the basis of much of this study, and most of the aspects of society and administration in the late Anglo-Saxon shire are examined using it as their starting point. Facets of lay land tenure, already mentioned in passing, are next examined in more detail in case studies of twelve landholders of varying wealth and influence. They are followed by a mainly statistical consideration of the holdings of unnamed freemen and sokemen. In Chapter 4 the Essex lands of ecclesiastical institutions are examined, and in Chapter 5 themes developed in these two chapters are drawn together into a model of the evolution of the pattern of land holding in Essex between c900 and 1066.

1. DB i, ff 280b, and 298b, cited by W A Morris, in The Medieval English Sheriff (1927) p67.

Case Studies

Asgeirr (20) According to Domesday Asgeirr had 15 Essex estates in 1066. In addition, four other holdings were occupied by tenants or sokemen of his.[1] and he had half of the soke over a freeman's land at Roding.[2] The total assessment of his demesne holdings was 51 hides and 46 geld acres, a total exceeded amongst laymen by only Sigeweard (157) and King Harold (107). Asgeirr's Essex lands chiefly lay within the hundred of Dunmow, with outliers to the east and north west (Map 1, p62). Table 3 (p 57above) shows that in all Asgeirr had estates in 13 shires, with the largest concentration in Hertfordshire. In addition to those in Essex he also had sizable groups of holdings in Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire, although the only shire with which he had any known administrative connection was Middlesex.[3] He had been appointed Staller of that shire by 1044[4] and still held the office between 1053 and 1066:[5] indeed Freeman considered that he held office without interruption between the reigns of Edward and Harold.[6] He played a key part in the Battle of Hastings and the defence of London after the defeat of 14 October.[7] His ultimate fate is not known, although his widow in 1086 held 1 hide of the royal manor of King's Walden in Hertfordshire.[8] All of his Essex

1. These were at White Roding and Dunmow (DB ii, f 62 bis) and Birchanger and Plegdon (ibid f 62b bis).
2. Ibid, f 61b, the estate cannot be precisely identified, see VCH Ex i, 511 fn 7. These five holdings are marked on Map 1, p62 , as open circles.
3. In this shire he was the third largest lay landholder with 76½ hides of land, VCH Middx i (1969), 100-1.
4. P H Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters; an annotated list and bibliography (1968), No 1119. For a note on stallers and their office see F E Harmer, Anglo-Saxon Writs (1952), pp50-52.
5. Sawyer, op cit, No 1142.
6. E A Freeman, History of the Norman Conquest (1867-79) iii, 53. For his presence at Edward's court see F Barlow, Edward the Confessor (1970), pp164-5, 191, 197, 245, and 334.
7. The Carmen of Hastingae Prelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens ed C Morton and H Muntz (1972), p44; see also Freeman, op cit ii, 44 fn3, and iii, 501-2.
8. DB i, f 132b.



MAP 1

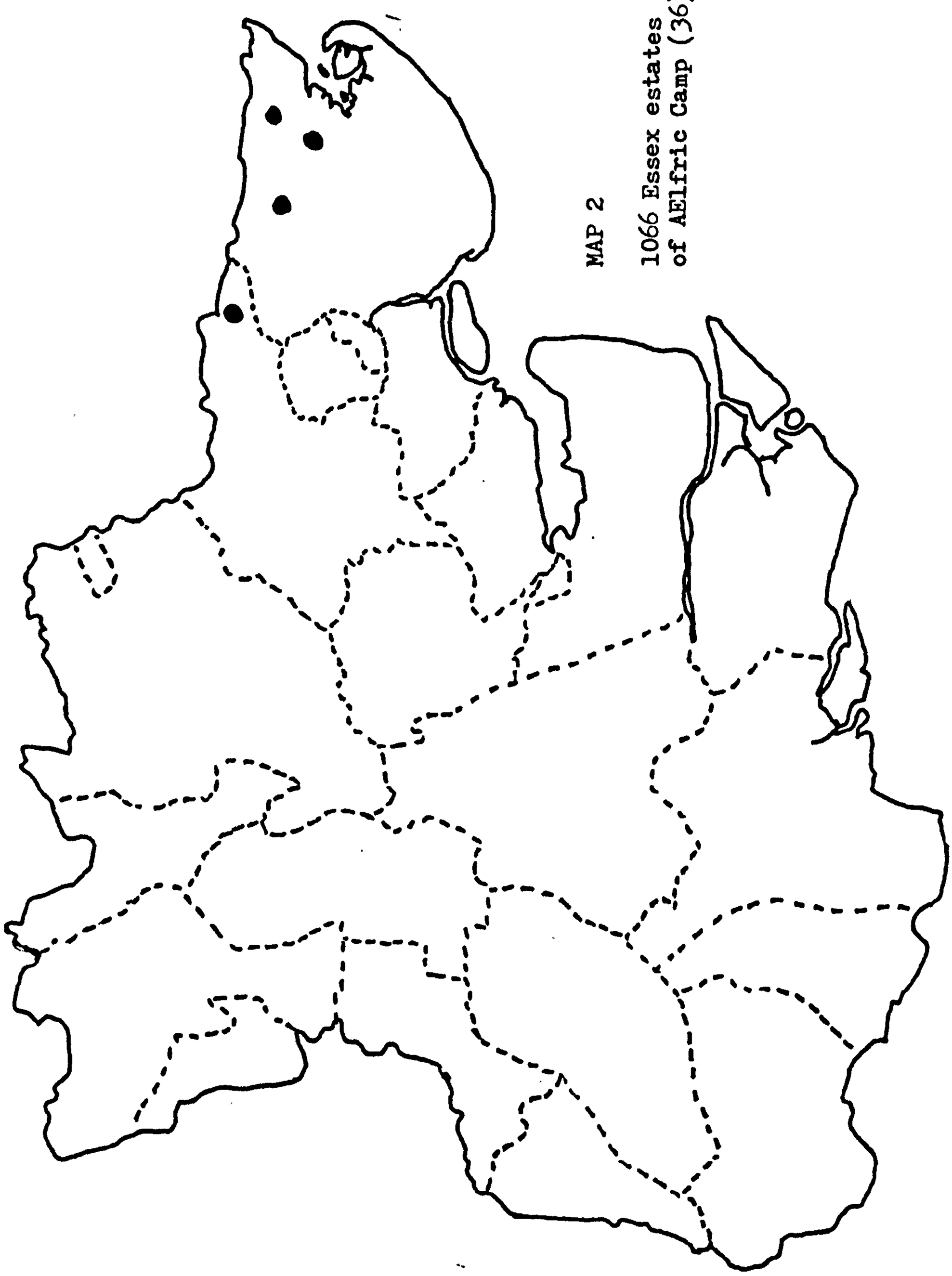
1066 Essex estates of Asgeir (20)

estates were held at the time of the Domesday survey by Geoffrey de Mandeville.[1]

There is no direct evidence for the way that Asgeirr obtained most of his Essex estates, although unusually there is a pre-Conquest documentary reference to one of them. It is the note of a lost agreement, recorded in the Liber Eliensis, between Asgeirr and the Abbey of Ely about the manor of High Easter.[2] This estate was bequeathed to the abbey in the 1020s, but was later seized by Asgeirr. At an unknown date between 1045 and 1065 the abbot succeeded in getting Asgeirr to agree that he should retain it for his lifetime, after which it would revert to the abbey. Perhaps because it was held by him on the day that King Edward was alive and dead it passed to Geoffrey de Mandeville with the rest of his estates.[3] He may have inherited some estates from his ancestors, who included Osgod Clapa,[4] whilst other land presumably came through purchases, and perhaps royal gifts.[5]

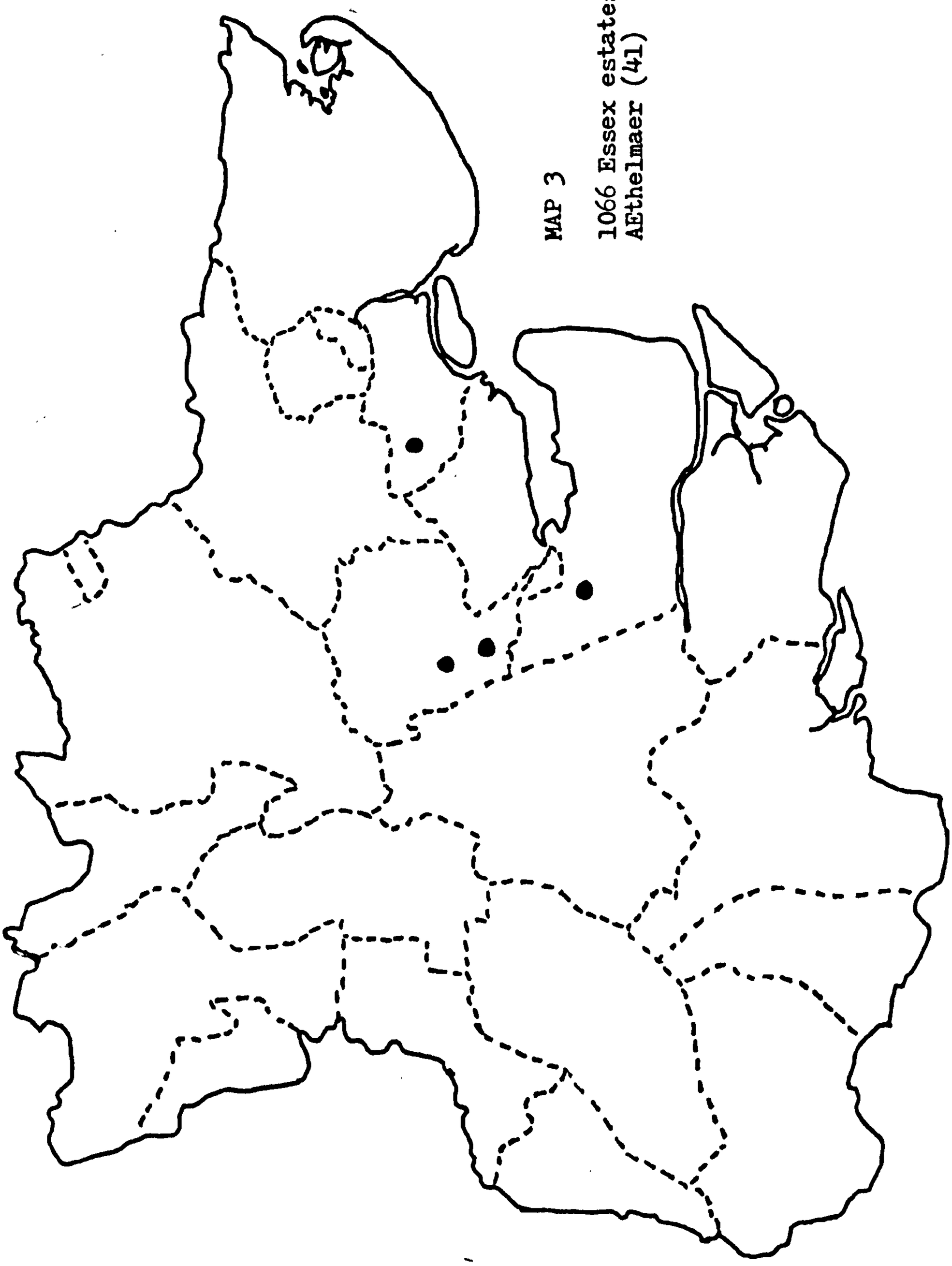
Asgeirr was one of the eight landholders mentioned in the Essex Domesday text who possesses sokeright before the Conquest,[6] although

1. Geoffrey succeeded him elsewhere; and in Hertfordshire (DB i, ff 139-140; VCH Herts i (1902), 282) he took over the land of Asgeirr's men. In Suffolk too he was Asgeirr's successor, and on f 42b (Thorington) the scribe especially noted that one of Geoffrey's holdings had not been part of Asgeirr's honour. On Geoffrey himself see J H Round, Geoffrey de Magnaville (1892) pp 37-38, and VCH Ex i,343.
2. No 44 of ECE. The manor was beneficially assessed at 2 hides, and worth £20 in 1066, when there were 16 ploughs on the demesne.
3. DB ii, f 60.
4. W G Searle, Anglo-Saxon bishops, kings, and nobles (1890) p 454. For Osgod see also Barlow. Edward the Confessor, pp 75, 88, 99-100, 119, and 193.
5. The manor of Saffron Walden (DB ii f 62) with its high geld assessment (19½ hides), and attached sokeland, is similar to ancient demesne royal manors such as Witham (ibid, f 1b), and may have been a gift from Edward or Harold.
6. R W Finn, Domesday Studies: The Eastern Counties (1967), p 140 fnl.



MAP 2

1066 Essex estates
of AElfric Camp (36)



MAP 3

1066 Essex estates of
AEthelmaer (41)

only over half of the one and three-quarter hide manor of a freeman in Roding.[1] The small number of Essex estates held by dependents of Asgeirr is in sharp contrast to the situation in Hertfordshire,[2] and to the large number of dependents of Wihtgar, the other major landholder in this part of Essex.[3]

AElfric Camp (36) The four Essex holdings of this man were close together near the Suffolk border (Map 2, page 64). His estates in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk are commented upon in the Appendix, but his Essex estates form an interesting, geographically compact group, about which nothing more is known.

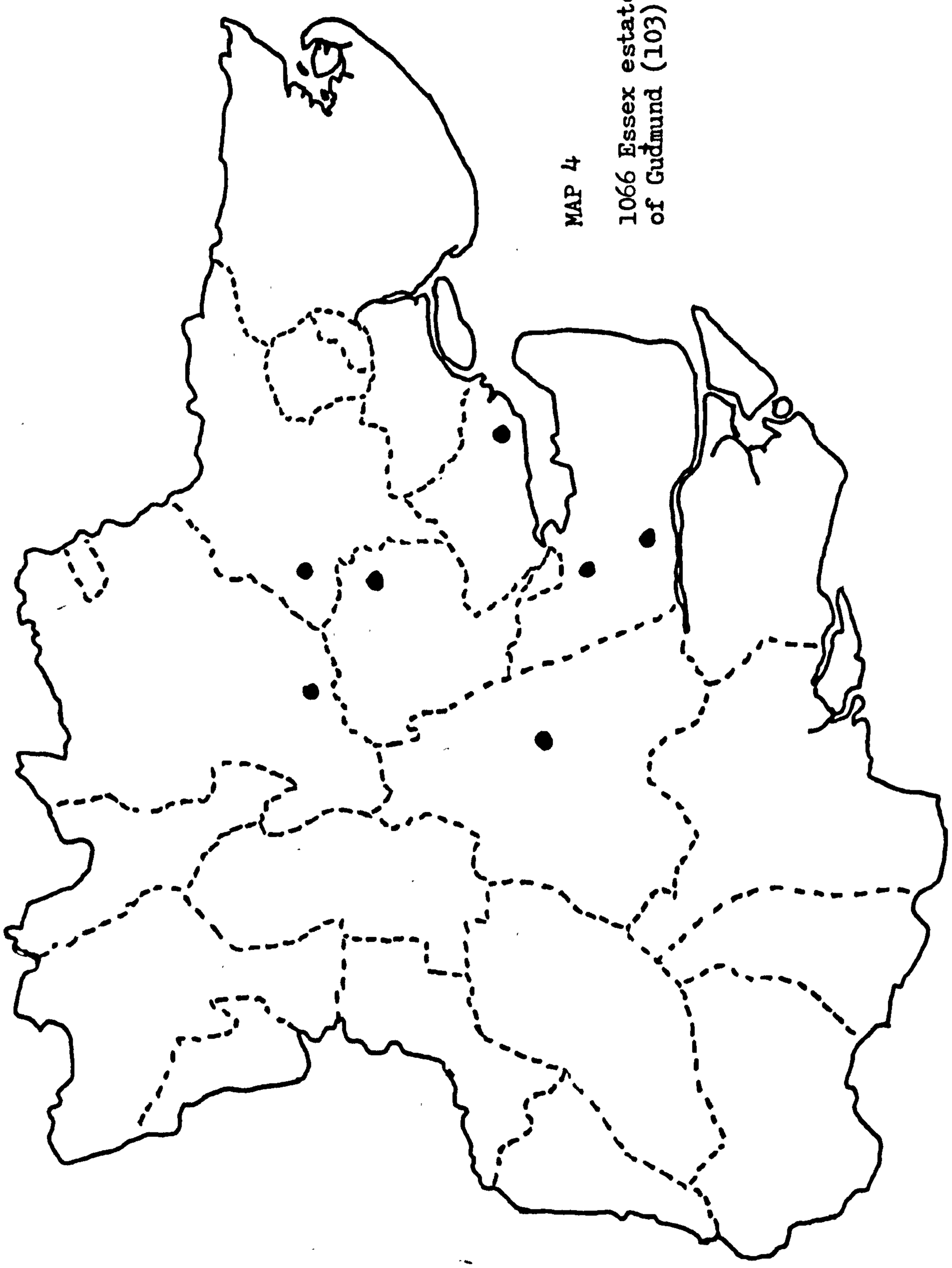
AEthelmaer (41) Like AElfric Camp AEthelmaer is an example of a man with only a few estates in Essex that were all in close proximity to each other (Map 3, page 65). On both geographical and successor grounds it seems likely that the thegn at Good Easter[4] was a different AEthelmaer from Ranulf Peverel's predecessor. The variety in size of his four holdings is of interest, as is the possibility that he lived at Hatfield, the only Essex parish to be named after the Peverels.[5]

Gudmund (103) Gudmund was the brother of Wulfric, Abbot of Ely between 1052 and 1066, and was able to induce him to convey several of the Abbey's estates to him in a 'secret' transaction to 'facilitate' his matrimonial designs upon the daughter of a noble home'.[6] According

1. DB ii, f 61b.
2. See above, p 55 fn 3.
3. As described further below, pp 84-86.
4. DB ii, f 20b.
5. For comments on Peverel's Domesday estates see Round in VCH Ex i, 346.
6. Hart, ECE No 62; E Miller, The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely (1951 repr 1969) also comments upon it. There is a note on Gudmund's dominium in the Liber Eliensis, pp 424-5 in E O Blake's edition of 1962 - Camden Soc 3rd ser xcii.

MAP 4

1066 Essex estates
of Gudmund (103)



to Domesday two of the estates in Suffolk which he held by this agreement were leased.[1] However, by 1086 these two, and all of his other holdings had passed to Hugh de Montfort.[2]

The first charter of Edward the Confessor to Westminster records Gudmund's gift to the Abbey of land at Kelvedon, Rayne, and Latchingdon; three places where Hugh had succeeded him by the time of Domesday.[3] This charter is known to be a forgery,[4] and although Westminster held land at Kelvedon in 1066,[5] it did not have any in either of the other parishes.

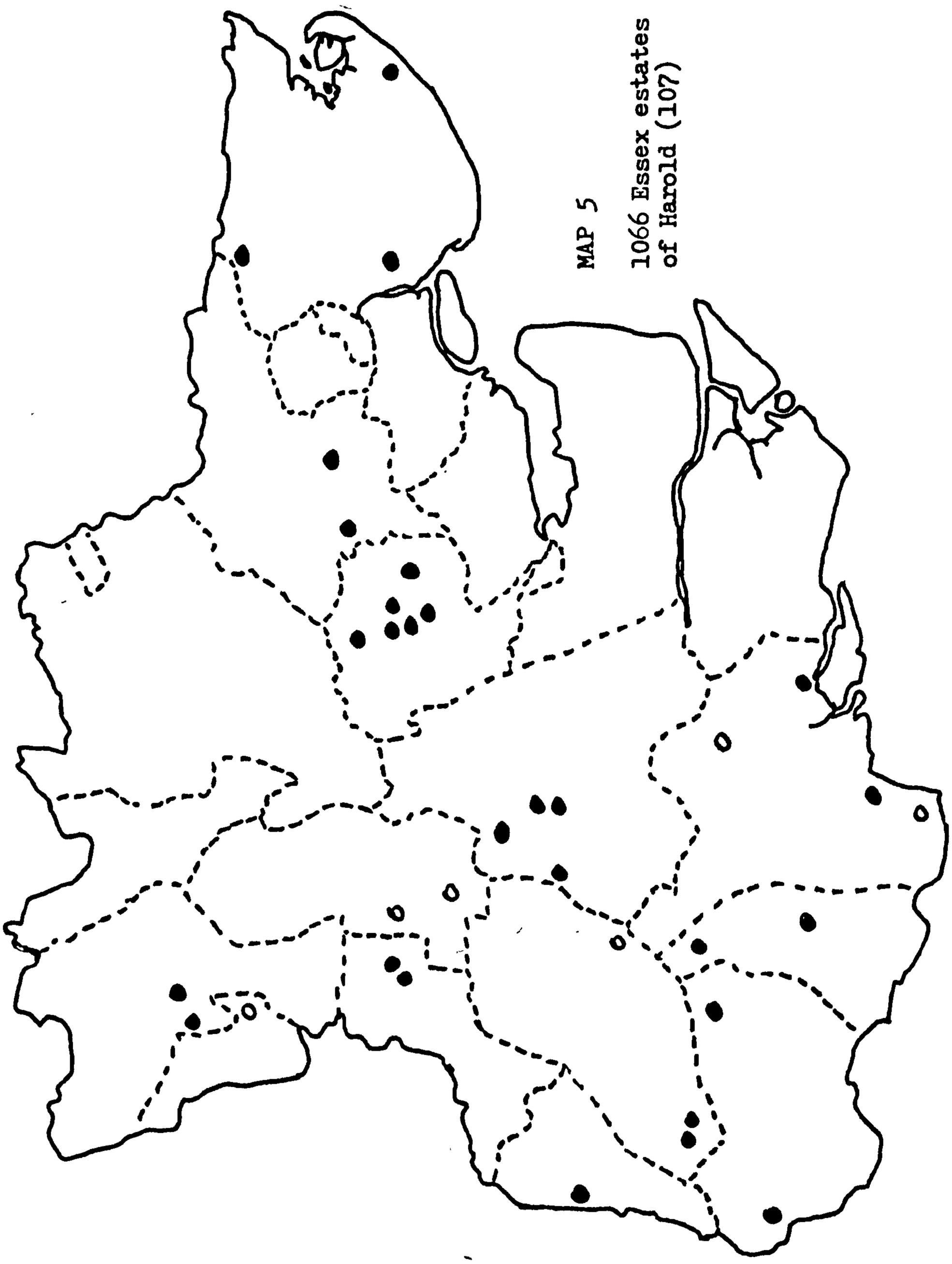
Gudmund's estates were situated in east-central Essex (Map 4, p 67). None of them were extensive, and the two largest, Purleigh and Sandon, were only assessed at four hides each. Notwithstanding the position held by his brother, it is unlikely that Gudmund exerted much influence in late Anglo-Saxon Essex.[6]

1. They were Nacton, DB ii, f 406b, and Livermore, ibid, f 408.
2. Ibid, f 54. On Hugh de Montfort see Round in VCH Ex i, 346, and also H W C Davis and R J Whitwell (eds), Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum i (1913), p xxvi.
3. Described respectively on ff 52b, 53, and 53b of DB ii. The charter is No 25 in Hart, ECE.
4. Sawyer, op cit, No 1043.
5. DB ii, f 14. See also B Harvey, Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages (1977), p 342.
6. In Table 15, page 155 below he ranks number 20 in the list of major 1066 Essex landholders.

Harold (107)

According to Domesday the largest amount of Essex land in the hands of any individual or ecclesiastical institution in 1066 was held by Harold Godwineson. It may well be that not all of the estates ascribed to Harold belonged to the son of Earl Godwine, but it is impossible to know for certain which were his, and which belonged to his lesser namesakes.[1] In Essex Harold held 28 estates in demesne, with a total geld assessment of 190 hides 86 geld acres;[2] in addition to which five estates were held of him, and a further one by a freeman of his. The recorded extents of these five holdings was 10 hides 14 geld acres.[3] Map 5 (page 70) shows that his estates were scattered across south west and central Essex, with none in the hundreds of Freshwell, Hinckford, Thunreslau, Winstree, Thurstable, Dengie and Rochford.[4]

1. I have assumed that all 'Harold' estates belonged to the king - a policy adopted by R H Davies in his unpublished University of Wales MA thesis (1967), 'The lands and rights of Harold, son of Godwine, and their redistribution by William I. A study of the Domesday Evidence', unnumbered page, Note 1. The most recent general study of Harold is H R Loyn 'Harold, Son of Godwine', in Historical Association: 1066 Commemoration Lectures (1967), pp 19-35.
2. To this total should be added the unknown extents of Fingrith (DB ii, f 5), and White Notley (ibid, f 26b). Davies, op cit, p 45 stated that Harold held 24 Essex manors assessed at nearly 200 hides, but actually listed 25 in Appendix 1 (unpaginated). He omitted altogether Gravesend (DB ii f 26b), White Notley (ibid), Hatfield Broad Oak (ibid, f 55), Dunmow, (ibid, f 61b), Chigwell, (ibid, f 90b), and Witham (ibid, f 95).
3. Differences of interpretation are presumed to account for the variations between my figures and those of A Williams in 'Land and power in the eleventh century: the estates of Harold Godwineson' in R A Brown (ed), Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies III 1980 (1981), 172.
4. See also Davies, op cit, pp 64-65, on the geographical distribution of Harold's Essex estates. In Map 5 the open circles indicate estates held of Harold.



MAP 5

1066 Essex estates of Harold (107)

Essex shares with Cheshire and Lincolnshire the distinction of being the only shires in which according to Domesday Book Edward the Confessor did not hold any land in 1066.[1] Davies has suggested that all of the royal estates in the shire was used to endow the new earldom of Essex,[2] which seems unlikely since it would have left Edward with no land within it. He also argued that Harold acquired his Lincolnshire estates after he became king,[3] which implies that here Domesday recorded his holdings in October rather than January 1066. If this were the case then the same could be true of the Essex entries; the scribes listed his holdings at the time he was king. This theory provides a simple and plausible explanation of why he was holding the terra regis in Essex during the period which Domesday euphemistically described as the time of King Edward.[4]

The core of Harold's block of estates was the ancient royal manors, many of which had extensive areas of sokeland attached to them.[5] In addition, he held a large number of smaller holdings, some of which

1. So Map 2.1 (p 18) of P E Stafford, 'The Reign of AEthelred II, a study in the limitations of royal policy and action', in D Hill (ed), Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference (1978). However, in the terra regis section of the Hertfordshire Domesday (DB i, ff 132-133) Edward is not credited with having held any estates TRE, most of them were said to have been held either by Harold, or by others of him. At Bayford (f 133) it is stated that 'Earl Tosti held this manor, but King Edward had it in demesne on the day on which he died'.
2. Davies, op cit, p 46. Williams, op cit, 173-4, suggested independently that Harold held Essex royal manors ex officio as earl, but given the uncertainties of the boundaries and identities of the holders of earldoms in the 1050s and 60s the case is difficult to prove.
3. Davies, op cit, p 53 fn 5.
4. For example, at Havering (DB ii, f 2b) it was recorded that Harold held the manor in the time of King Edward.
5. For example Witham (DB ii ff 1b-2), where there were almost 7 hides of sokeland to 5 hides of demesne. At Lawford there were 10 hides of demesne, over 8½ of sokeland, and a berewick of 4 hides. In 1086 all the Essex ancient demesne royal manors were held by William.

he may have acquired shortly before 1066 through gift, purchase, and possibly usurpation.[1] Davies' researches have shown that for the most part Harold held land in those shires whose earl he had been,[2] and his lands in Essex may have been obtained to augment his power base there. It is a possibility that he inherited some land from his father, but his holdings in Essex are unlikely to have been extensive, and the fate of Godwine's estates after his death is by no means clear.[3] Harold probably obtained and disposed of land in the same ways that his lesser contemporaries did, and in common with them little evidence has survived to show precisely how this was achieved.

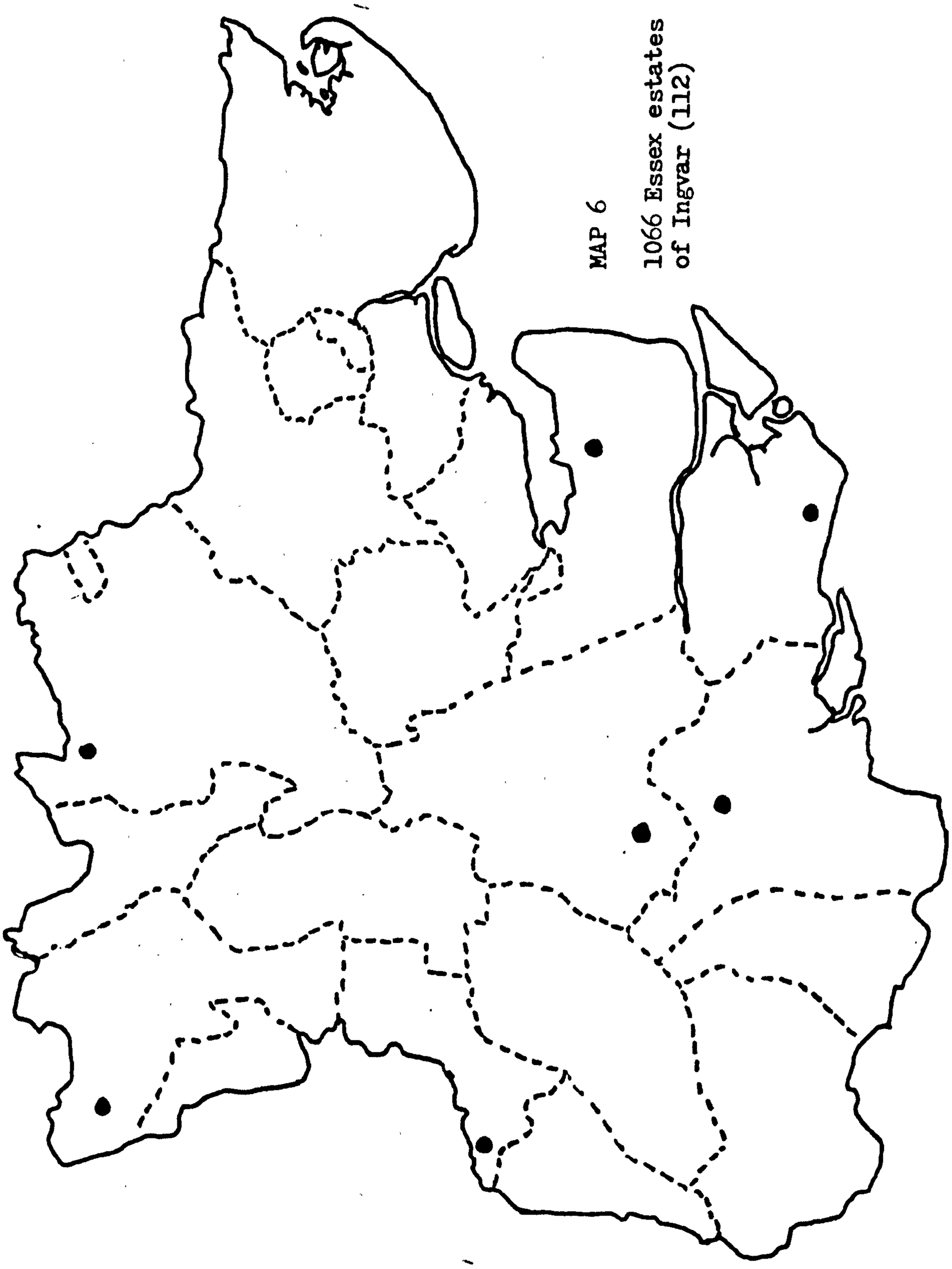
If it is true that Domesday records Harold's Essex estates as they existed on the eve of the Norman invasion, rather than on the day that King Edward was alive and dead, the information it contains may not be strictly contemporary with the data on other landholders used in this study.[4] Given that it is only possible to recreate a general picture of the pattern of land tenure in 1066 from the Domesday evidence this is not a serious problem. However, since the most significant transference of estates that occurred between January and October 1066 was probably from Edward to Harold on the latter's succession to the throne, it is desirable for the sake of completeness that an attempt is made to compute the extent of Harold's land in Essex whilst Edward was still alive.

1. In the Domesday description of Great Lees (DB ii f 59) it is stated that the manor was given by Asgeirr to Harold in the time of King Edward. Harold passed it to Scalpi, who in turn gave it in dower to his wife.
2. Davies, op cit, p 57.
3. This complex topic is discussed by both Davies (op cit, pp 6-25) and Williams (op cit, 173-177) without any firm conclusions being reached.
4. In the case of Robert fitz Wimarc, below page 81, the estates which Domesday states he acquired after Edward's death and before William's invasion have been excluded from the calculations.

It is impossible to be certain which of Harold's estates were held by Edward at the time of his death, but the safest course is to follow Davies and assume that William took possession of all the ancient royal manors,[1] which amounted to 105½ hides 4 geld acres,[2] plus the unknown extent of Fingrith. The remaining 18 estates which Domesday ascribed to Harold were assessed at 84 hides 106 acres,[3] to which should be added the unspecified extent of White Notley.

From Table 13 (page151 below), it can be seen that with his 105 hides Edward's estates would have carried a higher geld assessment than those of any other landholder in Essex, although in terms of their number his 13 would have been equalled by Barking Abbey, but less than the 14 that Sigeweard had, and Asgeirr's 15. The extent of Harold's land would have been exceeded by the king, and St Paul's, but with 15 estates he would have had more holdings than anyone else in the shire apart from Asgeirr. Harold would thus have been an important element in the power structure of Essex before Edward's death, and the amalgamation of his own lands with the royal estates in the shire ensured that there was little chance of any Essex-based landholder attempting to undermine his authority in the shire during his brief reign.

1. Op cit, pp 102, 135-6.
2. DB ii, ff 1b-7; detailed in the Appendix.
3. Also detailed in the Appendix.



MAP 6

1066 Essex estates of Ingvar (112)

Ingvar (112)

It would appear from Domesday that in 1066 this thegn had single estates in Huntingdonshire[1] and Suffolk[2], and two in Cambridgeshire,[3] in addition to his 7 in Essex - in which he was succeeded by a variety of Normans.[4] In Essex his holdings were scattered around the periphery of the shire (Map 6, page 74) with some concentration in the south-eastern quarter. The administration of his eleven holdings was probably expensive and inefficient regardless of which of them he lived on.

Ketill (113)

Although he did not hold much Essex land Ketill is worthy of consideration here because a great deal is known about the estates of him and his family. Indeed, in 1066 he had only one manor in the county - a 2 hide holding at Frating which in 1086 was held by Ranulf Peverel.[5] In his will,[6] made between 1052 and 1066, the future of Frating was to have been as follows: 'and I grant the estate at Frating according to the agreement which you yourself and Archbishop Stigand my lord have made'. 'Yourself' was interpreted by Hart to mean Earl Harold, and he drew attention to the fact that although the bulk of Frating was held by Ranulf a small piece of the parish was appended to the manor of St Osyth, which may (like St Osyth itself) have been Christ Church Canterbury property.[7] Ketill's will also mentioned land elsewhere

1. Everton, DB i, f 207.
2. Elmham, DB ii, f 380b; held by Alwin a freeman by commendation under Ingvar.
3. Duxford and Gamlingay, DB i, ff 196 and 201b respectively.
4. See his entry in the Appendix.
5. DB ii, f 75b.
6. ASW No xxxiv.
7. Hart's comments appear in the notes to ECE No 66. For St Osyth see DB ii, f 11, and N Brooks, The Early History of the Church of Canterbury (1984), p 308.

in Essex, at Stisted, and Coggeshall. The former he had only a life interest in by the terms of his mother's will, and Christ Church succeeded in obtaining possession of it after the Conquest, which is probably why they were described as the TRE holders of the manor in Domesday.[1] The land at Coggeshall Ketill left to his brother Godric. This holding has not been satisfactorily identified and may have been disposed of by 1066. However, before the Conquest Christ Church held half a hide there,[2] although if Ketill were still alive in 1066 by the terms of his father's will he should have held it.[3]

Ketill seems to have been a thegn. In the Norfolk Domesday text he was described as a thegn of Stigand,[4] and in Suffolk as King Edward's thegn.[5] The other Suffolk entry where he is mentioned calls him a freeman and thegn.[6] It is not certain exactly how many estates Ketill held in 1066. According to von Feilitzen he had 12.[7] Whitelock suggested in the notes to Ketill's will that he did not have the two holdings held in 1086 by Tovi, but thought that he might have been the Ketill who held 30 acres of Stoke Holy Cross under Archbishop Stigand - although that too was held in 1086 by Tovi.[8] The most likely total seems to be 6 estates in Norfolk, and 2 each in Suffolk[9] and Essex. In addition he claimed another Norfolk holding in his will, with which he was not credited in Domesday. Notwithstanding his thegnly background Ketill held too few estates in any shire to have much influence in them.

1. Commented on by Brooks, op cit, p 303. See also Whitelock's note ASW p 202.
2. DB ii, 8. Beneficially assessed, as there were 10 ploughs on it in 1066 when it was worth £10.
3. ASW No xxxii.
4. DB ii, 254 (East Carleton).
5. Ibid, f 416b (Onehouse).
6. Ibid, f 421 (Rushford).
7. The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book (1937), p 304 fn 6.
8. ASW p 202. The Stoke entry is on f 264b.
9. One of which, Rushford, he held jointly with Auti.

In the study of lay landholding in the later Anglo-Saxon period Ketill is of interest because the comparison of his mother's and his own wills[1] with Domesday provides information on the ways in which thegnly landholders accumulated and disposed of their property. The Anglo-Saxons made provision for their heirs by partible inheritance,[2] and this practice is well illustrated in the will which Ketill's mother Wulfgyth made in 1046. Stisted was to go to Christ Church Canterbury after the deaths of her sons AElfketill and Ketill. She left two estates to be held jointly by her daughters Gode and Bote, one to a third daughter Ealdgyth, and another to Earls Godwine and Harold. Ketill received a life interest in Stisted, and shared Carleton and Harling with his brother.

By the time that Ketill came to make his own will (between 1052 and 1066) his brother had died. Stisted he left to Christ Church in accordance with his mother's wishes, and Harling to Archbishop Stigand. Carleton is not mentioned, although according to Domesday he still held it in 1066.[3] His sisters Gode and Bote were both still alive, and he entered into agreements with them so that if one of them died they inherited one of the other's estates. Thus, if Bote died first Ketill would have received Somerleyton - an estate she had been left by her mother. If however Ketill died first she was to have inherited Keteringham - a holding he had obtained independently. The agreement with Gode meant that she obtained Walsingham, and he Preston if she predeceased him. Both of these estates were new to the collection held by Wulfgyth and her family. Ketill's half(?) brother Godric was

1. ASW Nos xxxii, and xxxiv respectively.
2. Discussed by Loyn in Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest pp 179-187.
3. DB ii, f 254.

left Hainford and Coggeshall - the former another recent acquisition, although his mother had held land in Coggeshall. Half of Moran, an estate which Ketill claimed and did not actually possess, he left to Harold;[1] the fate of Frating (another acquisition of Ketill's) has already been mentioned. Finally Rushford (not encountered before) was left to a relative, AElfric the priest. In addition to the estates mentioned in his will, Domesday recorded that he also had land at Great Melton,[2] and Onehouse,[3] both estates he presumably obtained after he returned from the pilgrimage which followed the making of his will.

Of the 10 estates which Ketill held in 1066 all but three, which were inherited, he had acquired himself. Given the terms of his mother's will her children had little choice but to build up their own group of estates, since the division of their parents' lands, particularly with a large family like Wulfgyth's, would have left them each with insufficient to maintain their thegnly status. Although incomplete the records of this family's land holding suggests that if he or she had several brothers or sisters any aspiring major, or middle-ranking landholder in the late Anglo-Saxon period had to create their own group of estates by purchases,[4] or royal grants. Moreover, on their death an individual's holdings would have been split up between their children, other relatives, and the church.

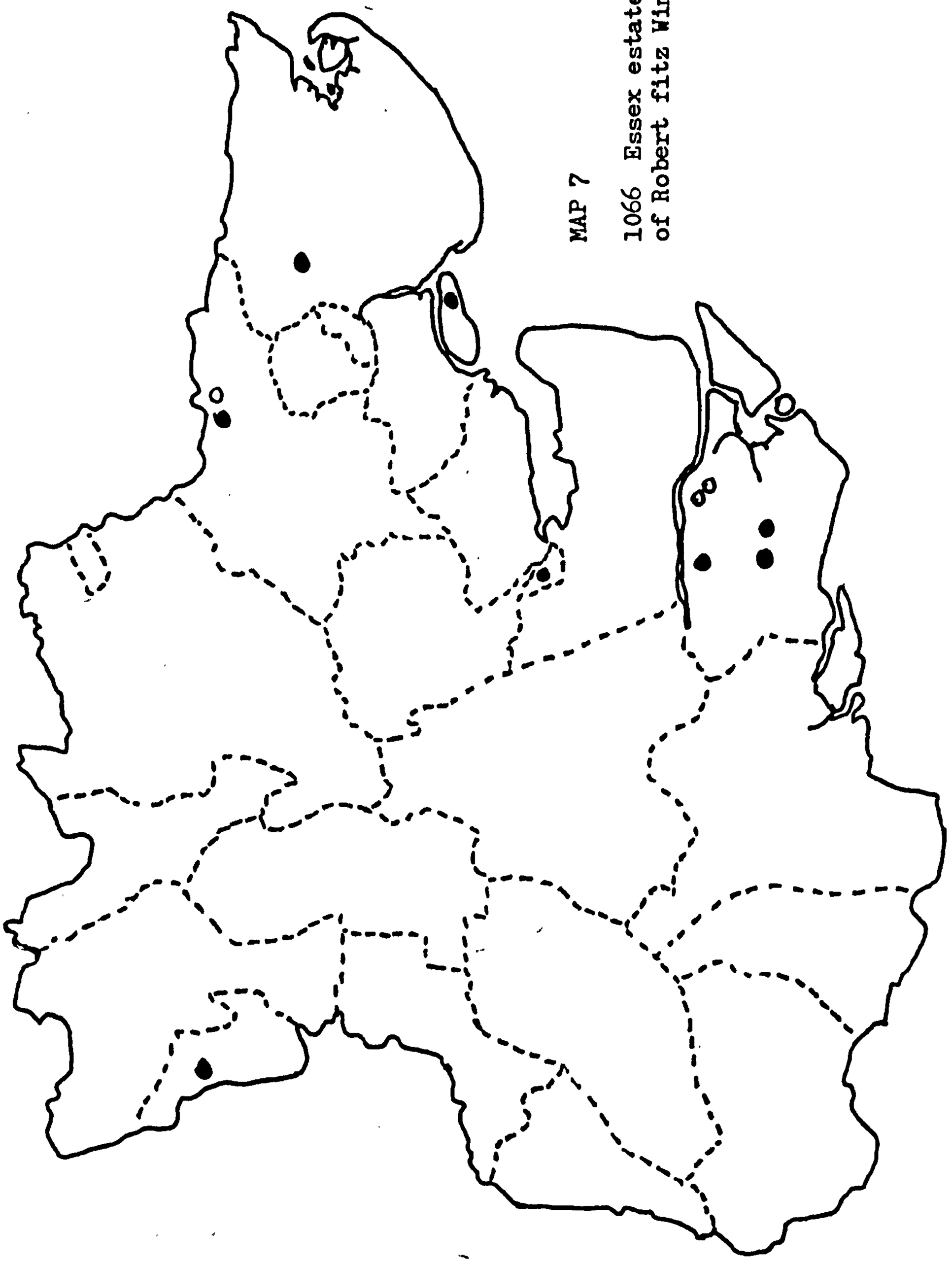
1. Whitelock comments on this Norfolk estate in ASW p 204.
2. In Norfolk, DB ii, f 254.
3. In Suffolk, ibid, f 416b.
4. The subject of mov able wealth is considered by T M Charles-Edwards, 'The Distinc tion between Land and Moveable Wealth in in Anglo-Saxon England', in P H Sawyer (ed), Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change (1976), pp 180-187. Hinton's paper 'Late Saxon Treasure and Bullion', in Hill (ed) Ethelred the Unready (1978), pp 135-158 is also of relevance.

All of this helps to explain the vitality of the contemporary land market,[1] and also implies considerable personal involvement by landholders in the accumulation of their landed wealth, which should be reflected in the location of their estates.[2]

Robert fitz Wimarc (147)

As one of the Frenchmen established in England during the reign of Edward the Confessor Robert has received so much attention from historians that after Harold he is probably the best documented lay landholder of 1066 Essex. Wimarc is a Breton female name,[3] but the origin and name of Robert's father are both unknown. Robert may have been related to Edward, and certainly received a number of favours from him during his reign. He was a member of the Confessor's court, and served him in the office of staller, and as sheriff of Essex.[4] Essex was the centre of his landed wealth, and it was there that he built his castle, at Clavering, in the hundred which was formed for his benefit.[5] Most of the eight estates which he held in Essex in 1066 were probably given to him by Edward - Clavering,[6] and Horkesley[7] were described in Domesday Book very much like

1. For the reference to the sale of an estate for the highest possible price see the will of Bishop AElfric, of 1035 or 1037, ASW No xxvi.
2. See for example Maps 9 (p 85), and 11 (p 89); although compare also Map 6 (p 74).
3. von Feilitzen, Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book, p 415.
4. The most important sources are Dictionary of National Biography xvi (1921-22 reprint), 1245; J H Round, Feudal England (1895), p 331; Barlow, Edward the Confessor, pp 41, 163-5, 191 and 247; Davis and Whitwell (eds), Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum i, pp xxii-xxiii; Freeman, The Norman Conquest, iv 736-38.
5. For the castle see Barlow, op cit, p 94 fn 3 and references there cited, and p 124. Robert's castle is mentioned in ASC 1053, and commented upon in D J C King, Castellarium Anglicanum (1983), i, 143. For the half hundred of Clavering see further below, Chapter 7.
6. DB ii, f 46b.
7. Ibid, f 47.



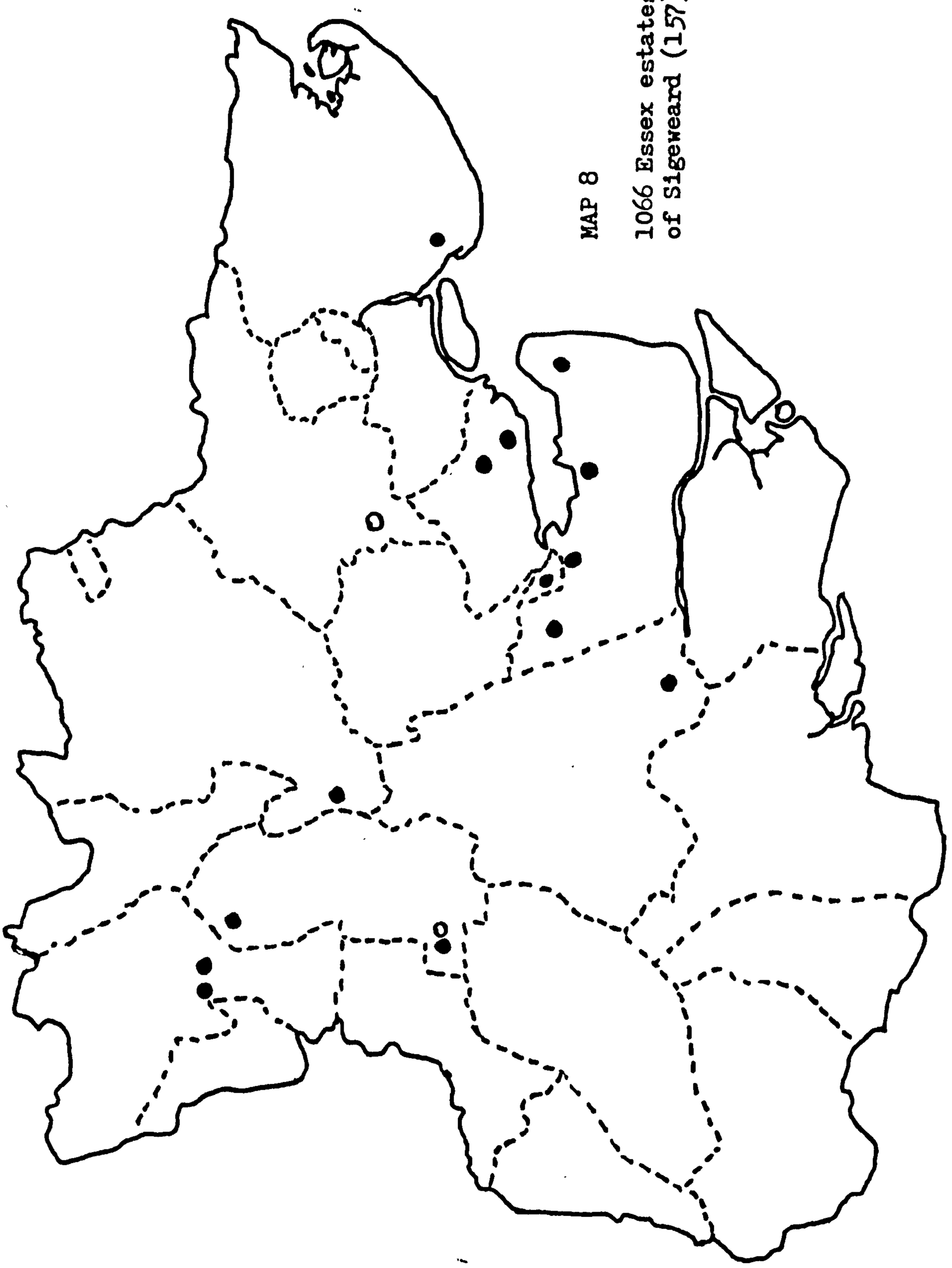
MAP 7

1066 Essex estates
of Robert fitz Wimarc (143)

ancient royal manors.[1] In addition to his demesne estates he had a sokeman, and a freeman whose soke he owned at Putsey,[2] and a freeman commended to him at Horkesley.[3] These three holdings with his other Essex manors had all passed to his son Suen by 1086.[4] Robert had lands and rights in seven other shires,[5] but only one of his estates outside Essex, Waresley in Huntingdonshire,[6] passed to Suen.

It is a feature of the Essex Domesday text that it recorded details of Robert's acquisition of estates both after Edward's death,[7] and post adventum William.[8] With the exception of Asheldham, which is in neighbouring Dengie, all of the estates which he obtained after Edward's death lay within the hundred of Rochford, and marked an expansion of his landed and political power into the hundred in which Suen was to erect his castle, at Rayleigh, the caput of his honour.[9]

1. Compare the Domesday description of Horkesley with Benfleet (DB ii, f 1b). The hidation of Clavering is suggestive of an estate which had not been long out of royal ownership.
2. DB ii, f 45b bis.
3. Ibid, f 47b. These three holdings are indicated by open circles on Map 7, p 80.
4. For Suen's fief see Round in VCH Ex i, 344-346. The best account of Suen is still that by Miss Fry, 'Some account of Suene of Essex, his family and estates', TEAS v (1873), 101-115.
5. Somersetshire, DB i, f 92b; Hertfordshire, ibid, f 137b; Herefordshire, ibid, ff 186b; 187; Cambridgeshire ibid, f 200b; Huntingdonshire, ibid, f 207; Suffolk, DB ii, ff 395b, 436b.
6. DB i, f 205b, additional to the estates listed in note 5.
7. They were at Shoebury, DB ii, f 44; Northorp, ibid, f44b; Little Wakering, ibid f 45; and Sutton, ibid, f 45b. Round in VCH Ex i, 485 fn 9 thought that this expression was a euphemism for Harold's reign.
8. This was Asheldham, DB ii, ff 46 and 47 - the same estate entered twice.
9. The castle is described in full in L Helliwell and DG Macleod, Documentary evidence and report on Excavations 1959-1961 on behalf of the Rayleigh Mount Local Committee of the National Trust (1981). The location of Suen's caput is commented upon by Loyn in Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest pp 367-8.



MAP 8

1066 Essex estates of Sigeweard (157)

In 1066 Robert was the tenth largest lay landholder in Essex.[1] His connections at court and the royal favour which he enjoyed made him one of the most powerful men in the shire on the eve of the Conquest, whilst his Breton origins ensured that he retained that position after it.

Sigeweard of Maldon (157)

With almost 73 hides distributed between 14 estates Sigeweard was the largest lay landholder (in terms of the extent of his land) in Essex after Harold. Map 8 (page 82) shows the distribution of his estates, which fell into two distinct groups. One of them was centred on the Blackwater estuary, at the head of which lay the burh of Maldon from which he was named; whilst the other was loosely based on the hundred of Dunmow. In addition to these demesne estates he also had three men commended to him - a freeman at Vange[2], a sokeman at Willingdale Doe[3], and a freeman at Prested.[4] Their land, with his 14 manors[5] all passed to Ranulf Peverel.[6] Although he owned sokeright in Suffolk[7] he did not apparently do so in Essex,[8] and neither did he own the soke over any land. In Suffolk he had interests in 9 estates, 3 demesne manors,[9] and the commendation and soke of 24

1. See table 15, page 155 below.
2. DB ii, f 71b. he became Sigeweard's man in William's reign, and so is not considered here.
3. Ibid, f 73.
4. Ibid, f 75.
5. Including 1 hide at Tollesbury leased from Barking Abbey (DB ii, f 18b), and 1½ hides of the Abbey of Ely's 20 hide manor of Rettendon (ibid, f 19; repeated on f 75).
6. In Suffolk he was described as Peverel's predecessor at Assington, DB ii, f 416b. For Peverel's Essex estates see Round in VCH Ex i, 346.
7. Finn, Eastern Counties, p 213.
8. Ibid, p 140 fn 1.
9. At Icklingham, Acton, and Assington, all described on ff 416-416b of DB ii.

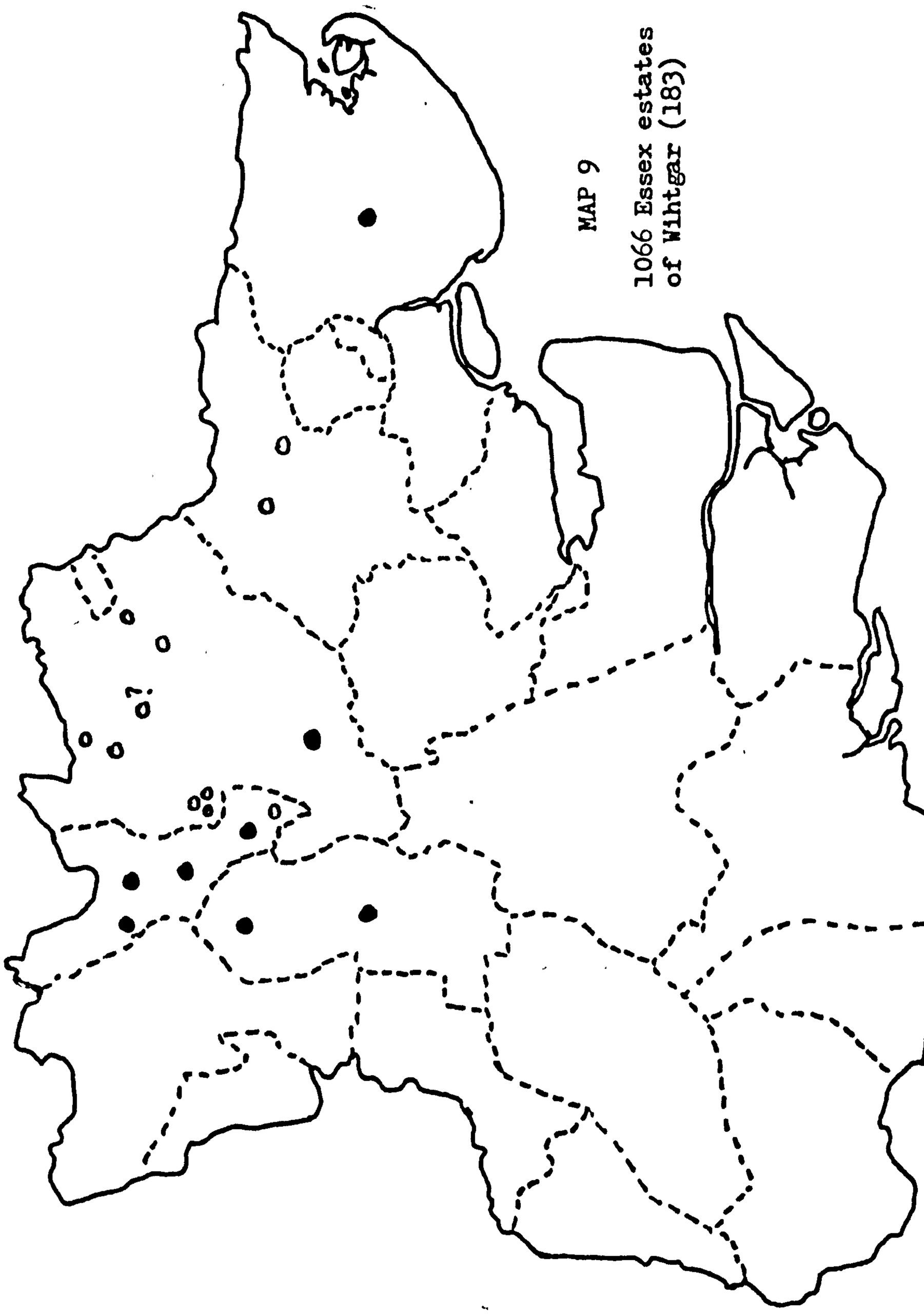
freemen on 6 holdings,[1] and the sokeland of his manor at Assington.

The influence of Sigeweard on the local administration of Essex in the years preceding the Norman Conquest is considered further in Chapter 7. Unlike Robert fitz Wimarc he does not appear to have enjoyed the favour of Edward's government, and the Essex hundreds of Uttlesford and Dengie may have been divided to prevent him obtaining the control over them that the concentration of his landed wealth within their borders would have brought him.

Wihtgar (183)

Wihtgar's estates are marked on Map 9 (page85). The holdings of men commended to him (represented there as open circles) extended his sphere of influence beyond that created by his demesne manors in Freshwell, the north of Dunmow hundred, and the south of Hinckford. The single holding at Little Bentley[2] was an outlier from the rest of his estates, which were concentrated around Freshwell, a half hundred which could have been created for his benefit.[3] With 27½ hides he was one of the major landholders of Essex on the eve of the Norman invasion. Outside the shire he also held a number of estates in Suffolk, and his father was the administrator of Queen Emma's eight and a half hundreds in that shire before they were granted to Bury.[4] Finn suggested that Wihtgar may have been 'a sheriff's deputy in south Suffolk and north Essex'.[5] It seems

1. They were at Acton, Waldringfield (2 holdings), Honilega, and Manton; DB ii, f 416; and Glemsford; ibid, f 416b.
2. Ibid, f 40b, a small manor worth 40/- in 1066, and assessed at one hide.
3. See further below, Chapter 7.
4. R Mortimer, 'The beginnings of the Honour of Clare', in Brown (ed) Proceedings of the Battle Conference III 1980, 128-130, and map 128.
5. Finn, Eastern Counties, p 180.



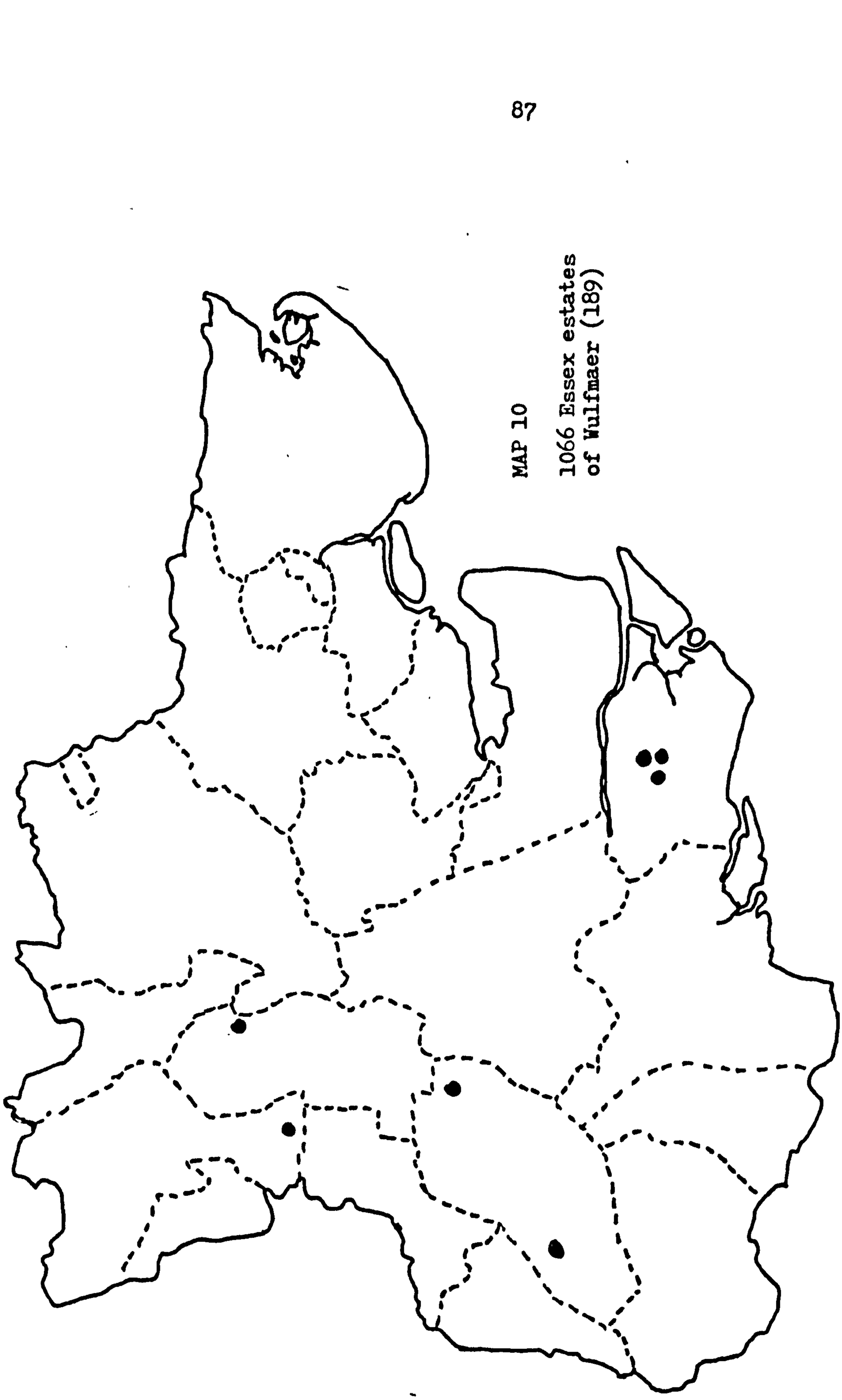
MAP 9

1066 Essex estates
of Wihtgar (183)

likely that he inherited the bulk of his estates from his father,[1] and succeeded him as a royal official. All of his land in Essex, including the quarter-hide at Bendish Hall that he invaded after the Conquest,[2] passed to Richard, and became an important element of the Essex and Suffok estates of the Honour of Clare.[3]

Of particular interest to the study of pre-Conquest Essex landholding are the large number of sokemen in the hundred of Hinckford who held their land 'sub' Wihtgar.[4] He also owned the soke over three holdings,[5] and his Essex estates and rights as described in Domesday are more 'East Anglian' in character than those of any other land-holder in the shire.[6] This suggests that the manorial structure on both sides of the shire boundary was very similar, a situation which Wihtgar and his father may have been able to perpetuate if they had administrative as well as personal interests in the area.[7]

1. Compare, however Ketill, pp75 ff above. Perhaps Wihtgar was an only child.
2. DB ii, f 102b.
3. J C Ward, 'The Estates of the Clare Family, 1066-1317', unpublished University of London PhD thesis 1962, states (p 43) that in Essex and Suffolk Richard's predecessors were Whitgar and Finnr the Dane (78). Whitgar's former property in the two shires constituted about 25% by value of all of Richard's estates in 1086, ibid, p 31.
4. In particular those recorded on ff 38b-40 of DB ii.
5. Ibid, f 41.
6. Compare the descriptions of the Essex manors (pp155-7) with their counterparts in East Anglia (pp157-162), Finn, op cit.
7. Ward, op cit, p 31, shows that the 1086 value of what had been Whitgar's Essex estates was similar to that of the land in Suffolk that had belonged to him, which may have been more than a coincidence.



MAP 10

1066 Essex estates
of Wulfmaer (189)

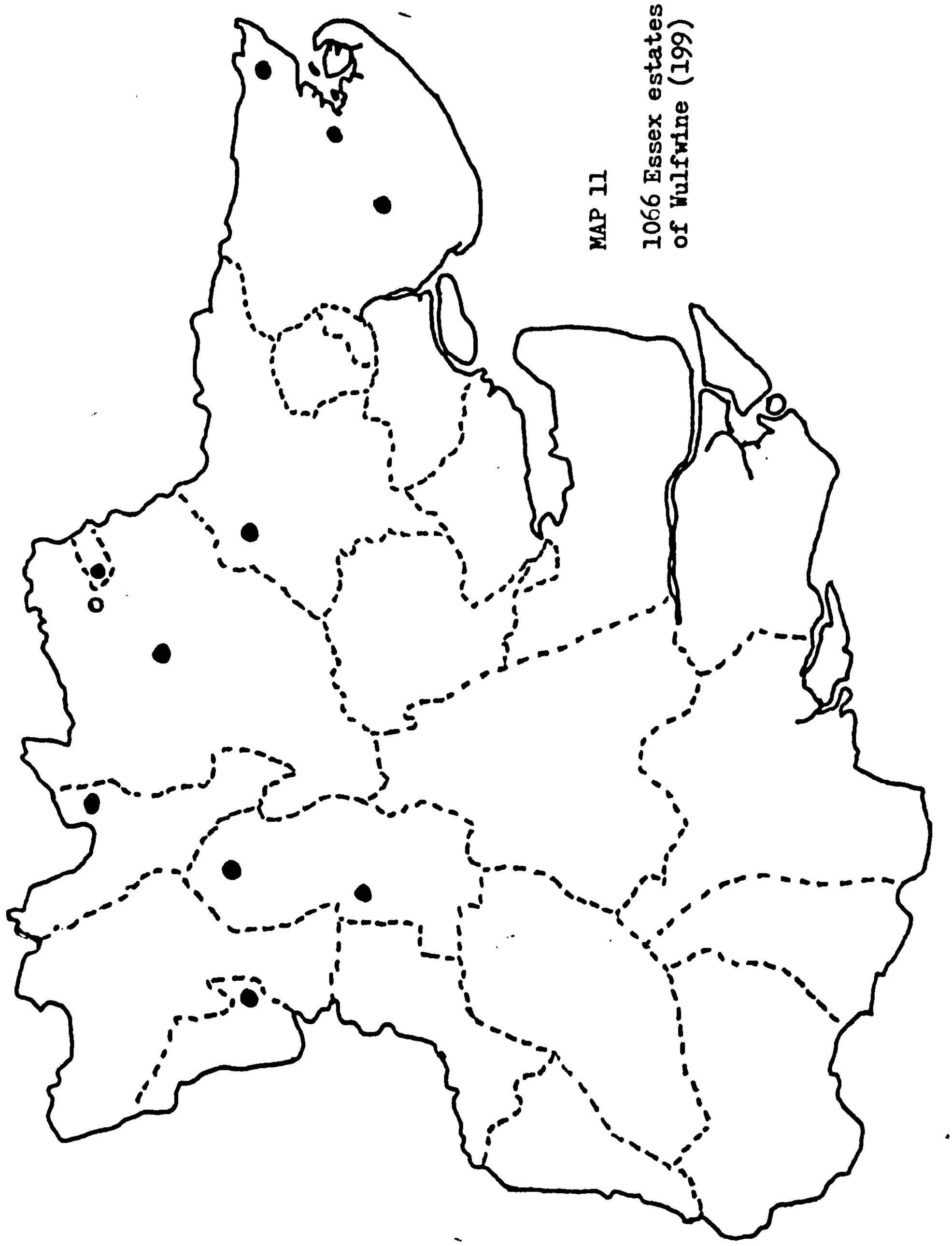
Wulfmaer (189)

His entry in the Appendix shows that the existence of this individual is only hypothetical. Nevertheless, the seven holdings plotted on Map 10 (page 87) could well have been the property of a prosperous freeman. The grouping of them is interesting, and suggests that they were centred on Hawkwell, although collation of the entries describing the 3½ hide less 15 acre holdings there suggests that they are duplicates, and both describe the same estate.[1] If this was indeed the case the total extent of his lands would have been only 10½ hides and 40 geld acres.

Wulfwine (199)

Wulfwine is one of the few men mentioned in the Essex Domesday text as having possessed sokeright[2], over 2 sokemen at Hersham Hall.[3] Map 11 shows that his demesne estates were scattered fairly evenly across northern Essex, with 11 of his 32½ hides lying in the three manors in the Tendring hundred. In Essex he was succeeded in all of his estates by Aubrey de Vere, and was described as his antecessore on folio 77.[4] Wulfwine's status is not mentioned in the Essex text, but in both Cambridgeshire[5] and Suffolk[6] he was described as a thegn. He also preceded Aubrey in 14 holdings in these two shires,[7] and in common with Wihtgar (183) was a powerful figure in the Essex-Suffolk border area. Also, like Wihtgar his lands all passed to one Norman after the Conquest. Personal details on him have not survived, apart from a reference to him in the will of a relative named

1. DB ii ff 50 and 51b.
2. Finn, Eastern Counties, p 140
3. DB ii f 77 - marked as an open circle on Map 11, p 89.
4. For details of de Vere's Essex estates see Round in VCH Ex i, 343. Aubrey was described by Davies & Whitwell as having held great estates, but was 'otherwise an inconspicuous figure in history': Regestra Regum Anglo-Normannorum i, xxv.
5. DB i, f 199b.
6. DB ii, f 418.
7. DB i f 199b; and ii, f 418-9. See also Round, loc cit.



MAP 11

1066 Essex estates of Wulfwine (199)

Leofgifu.[1] The house of secular canons at Clare was founded by AElfric his father, and both of them were still alive in 1066.[2]

Unnamed small landholders

The case studies considered what is known of the Essex estates of 12 men. Three of them had less than five holdings each, although the other nine were major landholders, amongst them the political leaders of the shire. In addition to the pre-Conquest estate holders whose names the Domesday scribes recorded, there were over 1500 individuals who were simply described by their status - freemen, sokemen, villeins,[3] or sometimes just as men.[4] Their holdings can be divided into two main groups. First there are those which were entered in Domesday independently of any other estate, and which were held in chief of the crown in 1086. They are taken to have consisted of folkland, and were variously described as manors,[5] and elsewhere as so much land.[6] The second group consists of usually smaller holdings of what appear to be manorial sokeland.

1. ASW No xxix, and p 88.
2. For a brief history of Clare Priory see VCH Suff ii (1907), 154-5
3. For villein holdings, see for example, Lexden, DB ii, f 5. Villein holdings are not considered in the following analysis, which is confined to the land of freemen and sokemen.
4. For example at Polhay, ibid, f 37.
5. For example at Great Hallingbury, ibid, f 52.
6. This terminology is a feature of the entries in the fief of Odo of Bayeux, where some of these holdings were extensive; ibid, ff 22b-23b. The fact that Odo was in prison in 1086, and in all probability not in possession of any land, is not apparent from the Domesday test. On his arrest see Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p 616.

In Domesday they are described after the manor to which they were dependent, and were often included in its valuation. The Domesday data on the holdings of unnamed freemen and sokemen in 1066 Essex is presented statistically in Table 5 (page 92). The table relates the types of holding, the hundreds in which they were situated, and the social class of the tenants. Some 406 separate pieces of land are involved, in which 899 freemen and 637 sokemen had interests.[1] The numerical ascendency between the four groups categorised in Table 5 is:

Freemen holding folkland	571
Sokemen holding sokeland	355
Freemen holding sokeland	328
Sokemen holding folkland	282

The order of ranking is amended a little when the hierarchy is based on the average amount of land (expressed in geld acres) held by individuals in the four groups:

Freemen holding folkland	106.5
Sokemen holding folkland	72
Freemen holding sokeland	56
Sokemen holding sokeland	34

Not only were freemen more numerous than sokemen, but they were also on average more prosperous, although sokemen with folkland were better off than freemen holding sokeland. Exceptions notwithstanding, when analysed hundred by hundred and class by class those holding folkland had more land than those with sokeland.[2]

1. In her unpublished 1936 University of London MA thesis, 'The sokemen of the Southern Danelaw in the eleventh century', p 73, Miss Dodwell calculated that there were 1020 unnamed freemen and 669 sokemen holding land in 1066 Essex. Differences of interpretation are presumably responsible for variations between these and other figures in our studies.
2. The figures given above, when compared with Table 1 (p 50), show that only the named landholders with less than half an estate each were on average worse off than the unnamed occupiers of folkland and sokeland. This suggests that only those holding more than a certain amount of land were recorded in Domesday Book by name.

	FREEMEN								SOKEMEN							
	FOLKLAND HOLDINGS				SOKELAND HOLDINGS				FOLKLAND HOLDINGS				SOKELAND HOLDINGS			
	Holdings (no)	Men (no)	Land (geld acres)	Acres per man	Holdings (no)	Men (no)	Land (geld acres)	Acres per man	Holdings (no)	Men (no)	Land (geld acres)	Acres per man	Holdings (no)	Men (no)	Land (geld acres)	Acres per man
BARNSTAPLE	20	75	6780	90	7	68	6689	93	1	4	321	80	4	9	275	30.5
BECONTREE	3	4	434	108.5	3	7	1140	163	1	8	360	45	2	2	60	30
CHAFFORD	3	15	742	49.5	4	6	265	44	0				4	12	435	36
CHELMSFORD	5	30	1812	60	5	6	98	16	0				6	31	1915.5	62
CLAVERING	13	22	2970	135	0				1	1	140	140	1	1	30	30
DENGIE	12	38	2485.5	65	12	58	4536	78	1	2	30	15	2	4	200	50
DUNMOW	10	15	1057.5	70.5	9	10	442.5	44	5	9	404	45	6	11	502.5	47
FRESHWELL	2	4	30	7.5	0				0				2	6	96	16
HARLOW	5	6	1748	291	3	11	845	77	0				3	3	150	50
HINCKFORD	36	164	4661	28	3	11	123.5	11	29	230	2381	10	11	62	730	12
LEXDEN	11	59	1179.5	20	11	28	356.5	13	1	20	211	14.5	10	82	1358.5	17
MALDON	1	1	210	210	3	4	70	17.5	1	1	49	49	0			
ONGAR	6	29	1606.5	55	9	16	550	34	0				3	8	327.5	41
ROCHFORD	20	22	3448	158	5	7	340	49	1	1	75	75	0			
TENDRING	3	15	255	17	0				0				10	60	1360	23
THUNRESLAU	0				0				0				1	7	195	28
THURSTABLE	4	24	341	14	8	35	1077	31	0				0			
WALTHAM	2	3	1125	375	1	1	120	120	1	2	720	360	1	4	255	64
WINSTREE	11	17	2728	160.5	2	4	300	75	0				4	11	214	19.5
WITHAM	2	6	405	67.5	4	49	1360	27.7	2	1	15	15	5	4	64	16
UTTLESFORD	14	22	3255.5	148	3	7	440.5	63	3	3	76	25	9	38	1518	40
TOTALS	183	571			92	328			47	282			84	355		
MEAN				106.5				56				72				34

TABLE 5 Holdings of unnamed freemen and sokemen in 1066 Essex

The anomalies which appear in Table 5 show that caution is required when considering differences between freemen and sokemen. With their 360 geld acres each the two sokemen in the hundred of Waltham were on average the most prosperous of the unnamed freemen and sokemen in Essex. At the other extreme the 230 sokemen with folkland (or was some of it unmanorialised sokeland?) in the hundred of Hinckford were the poorest, with only 10 geld acres each.[1] Between these two extremes some general conclusions can be drawn from Table 5. It has already been seen that freemen were both more numerous and on average wealthier than sokemen. In addition there were more freemen than sokemen holding folkland, and more sokemen than freemen on sokeland. In nine of the 21 Essex hundreds there were no sokemen on folkland, and in four of them no freemen on sokeland, whilst in only two hundreds were more than 10 sokeland holdings occupied by freemen. The tiny half hundred of Thunreslau was the only one in which there were no freemen holding folkland. It would appear that in theory only freemen held folkland, and sokemen sokeland, but in practice this only occurred in two hundreds - Freshwell and Tendring. This was presumably a result of the contemporary land market. Ambitious sokemen with the necessary resources were able to better themselves by taking holdings of folkland, whilst freemen on hard times had to be content with sokeland: they were on average wealthier than the sokemen on sokeland. It would be unwise to push this analysis too far since as Domesday does not record which holdings were folkland, and which sokeland, it is likely that some have been unwittingly assigned here to the wrong category.

1. Dodwell computed their average holdings as 6.37 geld acres *per capita*; *op cit*, p 123.

There is a possibility that sokemen were underrepresented or recorded as freemen in the Essex Domesday text. In Barstable hundred there were apparently 143 freemen to only 13 sokemen, whilst in Clavering 22 freemen and only 2 sokemen. Dengie too exhibits a great disparity of 96 freemen to half a dozen sokemen. The imbalance is to some extent redressed by Hinckford's 296 sokemen outnumbering the 175 freemen in that hundred. In the shire as a whole the ratio of freemen to sokemen was approximately 3:2, and these extremes could indicate defects in the compilation of the survey.[1]

Not only does the Essex Domesday text suggest that sokemen were generally less affluent than freemen, it also implies that they were tied more securely to their land, and of lower social as well as economic standing. There are 22 entries which describe the conditions by which freemen held their land, a very small sample considering that there were 899 unnamed men of that class holding land in Essex in 1066.[2] Five of them could 'betake themselves whither they would' without the consent of the lord of the adjacent manor,[3] and on only two occasions was it said that freemen could not

1. Dodwell noted that the largest numbers of sokemen were concentrated within the hundreds of Hinckford and Lexden (where 64.4% of the 1066 Essex total were to be found, op cit, p 79), Tendring and Witham; ibid, p 121. Barstable, Clavering and Dengie lay south and west of the four hundreds named, in parts of the shire where sokemen were less numerous, ibid, pp 78-80.
2. A number of these refer to lordship over the land rather than terms of tenure as such, and are considered in Chapter 9. Many of the references cited below refer to freemen holding sokeland.
3. Horkesley, DB ii, f 47b; Little Baddow, ibid, f 70; Prested, ibid, f 75; Tolleshunt Major, ibid, f 86; Sutton, ibid, f 96b.

withdraw from the manor to which they were attached.[1] In each of these cases the men involved seem rather prosperous, and it may be that they had taken the land on in default of more attractive terms of tenure being available elsewhere.

In contrast, more information is available on the conditions by which the sokemen of 1066 Essex held their land, with 47 relevant entries. Only one sokeman in the whole shire, who dwelt on the royal manor of Writtle,[2] 'could betake himself with his land whither he would' - presumably in search of another lord. He held his half hide freely, but paid soke to the manor. Four other groups held their land freely,[3] and five could sell their land, although the soke over it remained in the manors to which it was attached.[4] Sokemen at Hersham Hall, and Beaumont,[5] estates held in 1086 by Aubrey de Vere, had been unable to 'withdraw themselves without the permission of Aubrey's predecessor'. In 11 other instances sokemen could not leave their holdings at all.[6] There are 13 references to customary payments by sokemen - one at Great Chesterford paid his dues at the hall of the royal manor[7] - and on nine occasions customary and

1. South Hanningfield, ibid, f 25; and Ardleigh, ibid, f 59b.
2. DB ii, f 5b.
3. At South Ockendon, DB ii, f 58; Ashdon, ibid, f 71; Messing, ibid, f 83; and Wakes Colne, ibid, f 88b.
4. Theydon Gernon and Abbess Roding, ibid, f 50b; Radwinter and Stevington End, ibid, f 78; and Childerditch, ibid, f 92b. See also Dodwell, op cit pp 163-174, especially pp 168-170 on this subject.
5. DB ii, ff 70, and 77b respectively.
6. Copford, ibid, f 10b; Feering, ibid, f 14b; Great Baddow, ibid, f 21b; Great Tey, ibid, f 29b; Great Birch, ibid, f 30; Newenham, ibid f 34; Colne, ibid, f 40b; Marks Tey, ibid, f 57b; Wormingford, ibid, f 66; Castle Hedingham, ibid, f 76b; and Sutton, ibid, f 96b.
7. DB ii, f 3b.

socage payments by sokemen were recorded.[1] It is to be noted that many of these references describe conditions on the sokeland of royal manors.

The evidence of the Essex Domesday text on the tenures of freemen and sokemen is in broad agreement with Welldon Finn's conclusions on their relationships to each other and to the thegns:

'(i) the thegn had a higher social and economic standing than the liber homo, and the free man than the sokeman;

'(ii) generally speaking, the free man could sell his land and transfer his allegiance and services, the sokeman could not;

'(iii) both had duties, beyond those all men of their status owed to the crown or to the royal representative, to their superior to discharge, but those incumbent on the free man were lighter than those of the sokeman'.[2]

This picture which accords well with the Essex Domesday evidence, is in contrast to Lennard's conclusion that in 1086 there was little

1. At Hatfield Broad Oak, ibid, f 2b; Great Chesterford, ibid, f 3b; Writtle, ibid, f 5b; Lawford, ibid, f 6 bis; Newport, ibid, f 7; in the hundred of Winstree, ibid, f 22; Chreshall, ibid, f 33b; and Leyton, ibid, f 85. These payments have been described and explanations of them offered by Dodwell, op cit, pp 174-191: pp176-179, and 182-183 particularly referring to Essex. See also Miss E B Demarest's 'The Hundred-Pennies', EHR 33 (1918), 62-72; and '"Consuetudo Regis" in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk', ibid, 42 (1927), 161-179.
2. Finn, Eastern Counties, p 122. To these deductions he added the rider that although they 'may well have a large element of truth in them', none were 'entirely valid'.

difference between freemen and sokemen.[1] However, the introduction after 1066 of feudal tenure did accelerate pre-Conquest developments[2] which tended to blur the distinctions between these classes of men.

1. R Lennard, Rural England (1959), pp 348-9. His paper 'The Economic Position of the Domesday Sokeman', The Economic Journal 57 (1947) 179-195 also refers primarily to 1086 conditions. In the latter calculations of wealth were based on plough oxen rather than hid age (180), although the conclusions generally agree with those presented here. It should be noted that the Essex sokemen compare unfavourably with their contemporaries elsewhere since like those in East Anglia and Lincolnshire they owned fewer oxen (183,185). The methodology of Lennard's studies have recently been discussed by K P Witney, in 'The Economic Position of the Husbandman at the Time of the Domesday Book', Economic History Review 2nd ser xxxvii (1984), 23-34, in which he concluded that in the complex economic and tenurial circumstances of Kent the number of team oxen is a far from adequate indicator of the wealth of sokemen, and their Kentish counterparts, the villeins.
2. These are considered further in the general discussion in Chapter 5 on land holding in late Anglo-Saxon Essex.

Chapter 4 The Ecclesiastical Landholders of late Anglo-Saxon Essex

Introduction

This chapter analyses the pre-Conquest landholding of ecclesiastical institutions in Essex. It is not concerned with the estates of parochial clergy, which were considered with the laymen in Chapter 3. There are not many references to land belonging to parish churches in the Essex Domesday text, and with the exception of St Mary's Church (below, p 141) these holdings have been treated as the personal property of the incumbents.[1] The purpose of this chapter is rather to reconstruct the processes by which eight religious communities, the bishopric of London, and St Mary's Church, accumulated the groups of Essex estates which they held in 1066. The main themes to emerge from these individual case studies are then drawn together and discussed in a concluding section.

1. Church glebes mentioned in the Essex Domesday are considered in some detail by Round in VCH Ex i 383-4.

St Mary's Abbey, Barking[1]

The nunnery at Barking was established c666 by Earconwald, the future Bishop of London, for his sister Ethelburga. Its establishment is recorded by Bede,[2] and what may have been the foundation endowment by King Suebred of the East Saxons was recited in a grant of c687. His gift consisted of 40 cassatae called Berecingas et Beddanhaam.[3] Berecingas was presumably Barking itself, which the nuns held in 1066 assessed at 30 hides.[4] The identification of Beddanhaam is something of a mystery. It could well be another form of the name Barking,[5] although Loftus suggested that it might refer to East and West Ham.[6] C687, about twenty years after its foundation, the abbey received two grants of land from OEdilred - 10 manentes called Celta, which may have comprised Warley,

1. The best published history of Barking Abbey is to be found in VCH Ex ii 115-122. No cartulary is recorded for the house (G.R.C Davis, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain. A Short Catalogue (1958), p 4) and for more detailed information recourse has to be made to two unpublished theses. E Loftus' 'Barking Abbey in Saxon Times AD 666-1086' was, on internal evidence, written 1937-38, but not awarded a University of Dublin MLitt until 1979. For the post-Conquest period there is W M Sturman, 'Barking Abbey: a study in its external and internal administration from the Conquest to the Dissolution', University of London PhD thesis 1961. Pages 24-32, and 238-261 of this study shed interesting light on the nuns' landholding policies.
2. Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica iv.6 (ed Colgrave and Mynors, p 354).
3. ECE No 2.
4. DB ii, f 17b.
5. Beddenhaam is similar to the Budinhaam of the charter of c687, although these forms are not listed by P H Reaney in The Place Names of Essex (1935), p 88.
6. Loftus, op cit, p 163. In 1066 there was a holding in East and West Ham (DB ii, f 72b) held by Alstan(9), who also had an estate in West Ham (ibid, f 64). Westminster Abbey had land in East Ham (ibid, f 14b), where Leofraed (123) also had some (ibid f 64).

Bulphan, and Stifford;[1] and 75 manentes at Rainham, Barking, Dagenham, Angenlabeshaam (unidentified), and woodland called Wyfields in Great Ilford.[2] The date of the earliest manuscript of the second of these grants is a subject of some debate, opinion being divided between the view that it is contemporary with the actual donation and the belief that it is a late eighth century copy.[3] An interesting compromise advanced by Chaplais proposed that the first part of it dates from March 687, and that the boundary clause was completed in the second half of the next century.[4]

After these well-documented seventh century grants of land, there is a break of 250 years in the surviving records relating to Barking Abbey. Loftus suggested that the abbey was destroyed by the Danes in 870, and renovated 930-40,[5] and the grant in 946 by King Eadred to a nun named Eawynn of 12 mansas at Shopland might represent a gift to the restored house. It is presumed that Eawynn was a nun of Barking as there were no other suitable houses in the vicinity. However, if they did receive

1. ECE No 3, where Hart suggests that the name Celta was the original appelation of the Mar Dyke, around which these places lay. For the etymology of Mar Dyke see Reaney, op cit, pp 8-9. The Domesday description of the nuns' Great Warley and Stifford estates suggest that the latter was a detached part of the former. This view is given added support by the fact that their land at Stifford descended in the later medieval period as part of the manor of Abbess Warley (VCH Ex viii, 28). However in VCH Ex vii,166 it is stated that the 3 hides at Warley held by the abbey in 1066 were probably those bequeathed by Leofgifu to her brother-in-law Godwine, c1040 (ECE No 46). This statement overlooks the 100 acres at Stifford, which were part of the Warley estate, and the identification is difficult to accept with confidence. It seems more likely that Hart is correct, and that holdings b.,c., and d. of Table 6 were constituents of the seventh century manor of Celta.
2. ECE No 4, with valuable notes on the text and its interpretation.
3. Sawyer, (No 1171) gives a number of references to studies on this diploma. Hart's remarks in The Early Charters of Barking Abbey (1953), pp 9, 27-32, 35-44 are particularly valuable.
4. P Chaplais, 'Some Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas on Single Sheets: Originals or Copies?, Jnl of the Society of Archivists iii (1968), 327-32. For a critical comment on this theory see D Whitelock in English Historical Documents i (second edition 1979), pp 486-8 where the diploma is printed in translation, and described as the earliest East Saxon Charter.
5. Op cit, p 116. See also Hart's note to ECE No 12.

the estate the nuns soon disposed of it, for between 995 and 998 it was recorded as St Paul's property.[1] Later in the tenth century AEthelflaed left an estate at Woodham to Brihthnoth and her sister for the latter's lifetime, after which it was to pass to Barking.[2] If the nuns ever possessed this manor they had disposed of it by 1066.

Table 6 on page 103 relates the estates described in the pre-Conquest documents to the abbey's 1066 landholdings recorded in Domesday Book. It is clear from the table that the surviving Anglo-Saxon documents tell but a small part of the story of Barking's land acquisitions before 1066, and some comments on the holdings recorded for the first time in Domesday are desirable. The 40 acres at Fanton Hall[3] were held in 1086 by a villein, and if they were not part of the nuns' manor of Bulphan before the Conquest, they had certainly been added to it by 1086. The next entry,[4] describing the land of six freemen who dwelt on 2 hides and 5 geld acres at an unspecified location in the hundred of Barstable, is of interest since although the men had belonged to the abbey in 1066, twenty years later they were said to have been the king's to do with as he pleased. On two occasions pre-Conquest leases led to the loss of land during the transfer of estates after the Conquest. At Tollesbury one hide of the manor had been leased to Sigeweard of Maldon (157), and passed to Ranulf Peverel. The Norman was keen to continue renting the land, although the Abbess was not willing to let him do so.[5] Across the shire at Abbess Roding 3 virgates were claimed

1. ECE No 28, the St Paul's 'ship list', on which see further below, p 127.
2. ECE 18, ASW no xiv, probably dated after 975.
3. DB ii f 17b.
4. Also described on f 17b.
5. DB ii f 18b. See also Sturman, op cit, p 34.

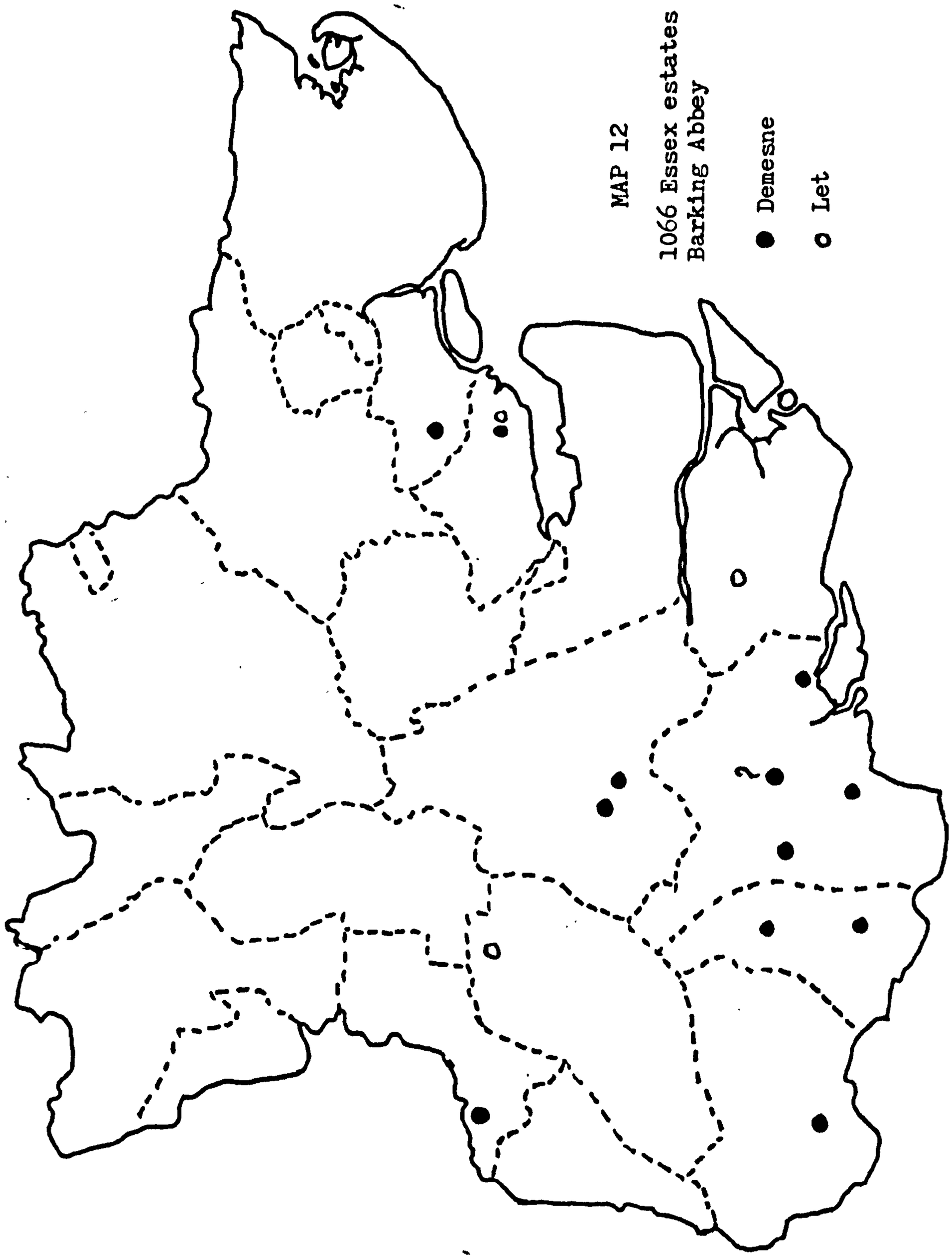
Explanatory notes to Tables 6, 7, 8, and 11; pages 103, 112, 119-120, & 140 respectively.

Documentary references discussed in the text are arranged in chronological order by their actual or reputed dates. The date of the transaction, and the reference to the diploma in ECE are given in the left hand column. In the next column the name of the estates, with their assessments (if stated) are listed. In the right hand column under the heading "1066" holdings recorded in DB as having been still held on the eve of the Conquest by the institution are listed, with their extents (h = hides; a = geld acres), and folio references.

Holdings held in 1066, and not previously attested, are listed after the latest diplomas, at the bottom of the tables. All of the estates mentioned in DB are identified by lower case letters.

				1066
c666	Berecingas)			a. Barking 30h (f.17b)
	)	40 Cassatae		
(ECE 2)	Beddanhaam)			
c687	Celta	10 manentes		b. Bulphan 7h (f 17b)
(ECE 3)				c. Gt Warley 3h (f 18)
				d. Stifford 40a (f 18)
c687	Rainham)			
	)			
(ECE 4)	Angenlabeshaam)			
	)			
	Dagenham)	35 manentes	75 manentes	
	)			
	Wyfields)			
	Barking	40 manentes		See a. above
946	Shopland	12 manentes		
(ECE 12)				
1066	Recorded for the first time in Domesday Book			e. Mucking 7h (f 17b)
				f. Fanton Hall 40a (f 17b)
				g. in Barstable hundred 2h 50a (f 17b)
				h. Parndon ½h (f 17b)
				i. Gt Wigborough 11½h 13a (f 18); 3 houses in Colchester (f 107)
				j. Ingatestone 3½h 10a (f 18)
				k. Fresling 45a (f 18)
				l. Hockley 7½h (f 18b)
				m. Tollesbury 9h (f 18b) 1h let
				n. Abbess Roding ¾h (f 57b) let

TABLE 6. PRE-CONQUEST ESSEX ESTATES OF BARKING ABBEY



MAP 12

1066 Essex estates of Barking Abbey

● Demesne

o Let

by the nuns as part of their land with the support of the Ongar hundred court. Before the Conquest this estate was leased to a woman named Leofhild (121), who was commended to Asgeirr (20). In common with other estates of Asgeirr and his dependents Abbess Roding passed to Geoffrey de Mandeville, but was later restored to the nuns.[1]

In 1066 the total extent of the Abbey's estates was 83 hides 102 geld acres, all but 1½ hides of which were in demesne. In extent their lands were only exceeded by those of Harold, and Map 12 (page 104) shows that they were situated in parts of the shire that were not too far distant from the abbey itself.

St Edmund's Abbey, Bury[2]

The surviving pre-Conquest documents relating to Bury are few in number, the earliest dating from the early 1020s.[3] There is only one reference to the acquisition by the abbey of an estate in Essex before 1066, although the monks were left land at Gestingthorpe which they did not receive.[4]

1. DB ii f 51b. For the later history of Abbess Roding see VCH Ex iv, 190.
2. The published literature on Bury is considerable. That produced before 1971 is listed in A V Stewart's A Suffolk Bibliography (1979), pp 228-232, and runs to some 79 titles. A brief history of the abbey is included in VCH Suff ii, 56-72. Also of value is D C Douglas, Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds (1932). An important contribution to the published literature on the early history of Bury Abbey is the recent paper by A Gransden, 'The legends and traditions concerning the origins of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', EHR 100 (1985), 1-24.
3. R M Thomson lists only 8 pre-Conquest documents in his The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds (1981), his Nos 1-5, and 110-112. This work supersedes the notes of Davis in Medieval Cartularies, pp 13-17. The grant of the 1020s is ASCH No 980, of which no fewer than 32 manuscript versions survive, none earlier in date than the twelfth century. This donation followed the replacement of secular priests at Bury by monks from Holme, VCH Suff ii, 58; and Gransden, op cit, 24.
4. Between 1035 and 1044 by Leofgifu, ECE No 46, ASW No xxix. A number of the bequests in this will were not fulfilled, as Whitelock, and Hart noted.

This took place in 1013 when the body of St Edmund was returning to Suffolk from London, and spent the night near Stapleford. The owner of the estate recovered his health thanks to the saint's presence on his property, and gave what was to be known as Stapleford Abbots to the abbey.[1] According to Domesday the Abbey still held the manor in 1066, when it was assessed at 3½ hides and six and a half geld acres.[2] In addition the monks also had five other holdings in the shire:

Bennington Hall	1 hide 15 acres	DB ii, f 19b
Harlow	1½ hides; and 5 freemen	
	with 3 hides	DB ii, f 19b
Alphamstone	½ hide	DB ii, f 20
Colne	36 acres	DB ii, f 20
Wrabness	5 hides	DB ii, f 20

Domesday does not state who held Bennington Hall, Alphamstone, and Wrabness in 1066, while Harlow, Stapleford and Wrabness were recorded as having been held semper by the abbey.

Of the 14½ hides 57½ acres that the monks had in Essex in 1066, 3 hides were held by the five freemen attached to Harlow. Although by 1086 they had acquired two further holdings assessed at 5 hides and 45 acres,[3] St Edmund's Abbey was hardly a major Essex landholder in either 1066 or 1086.

1. ECE No 43. See also VCH Ex iv, 223-4, and references there cited. Morant (History of Essex (1768) i, 175) dated the event to 1010.
2. DB ii, f 20a.
3. These were Latton, DB ii, f 19b; and Little Waltham, ibid, f 20.

Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury[1]

In 1066 the total extent of the Essex estates of Christ Church Canterbury was 33½ hides, and the cathedral's monks were the seventh largest landholders in the shire.[2] All of this land was assigned to the chapter, the archbishop having held no Essex land in 1066.[3] The pre-Conquest history of Christ Church has been thoroughly explored by N P Brooks, first in a doctoral thesis on its pre-Conquest charters, and more recently in a general study of the church between 597 and 1066.[4] Although both of these works contain a great deal of information on the cathedral's estates, neither are studies of its landed wealth as such, a subject which was examined (for Essex and East Anglia) in 1930 in another thesis by J F Nichols.[5] The work of Nichols and Brooks makes it possible to set the Essex estates of Christ Church into the general context of the cathedral's land holding pattern during the first centuries of its existence.

Notwithstanding the fact that Canterbury was the primatial see of England, during the Anglo-Saxon period the bulk of its landed wealth was concentrated within the boundaries of Kent. This localisation

1. Referred to in the Essex Domesday folios (8ff) as Holy Trinity, the dedication of the cathedral church.
2. See Table 15, page 155, below.
3. Brooks, The Early History of the Church of Canterbury (1984), illus 16 p 312.
4. 'The Pre-Conquest Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury', unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis 1968; and the book cited in the previous note. For an earlier, summary history see VCH Kent ii, 113-121, Davis, Medieval Cartularies, pp 20-24 gives details of relevant documents, although some of his notes have been superseded by Brooks' work. F Barlow, The English Church 1000-1066 (1979), pp 208-211, contains a concise history of the diocese during the first six decades of the eleventh century.
5. 'Custodia Essexae. A study of the conventual property held by the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the Counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk', unpublished University of London PhD thesis. 1930.

of the cathedral's estates is to be clearly seen in a series of important maps by Brooks which show chronologically the church's acquisitions of land. They demonstrate that no land was held in Essex by Christ Church until the period 900-988, and that by 1066, when archbishop and canons had a total of 98 estates between them, only 32 of these holdings lay outside the boundaries of Kent, and ten of them were in Essex.[1]

In The Early Charters of Essex Hart, citing a now lost list of donations to Christ Church, gave 823 as the date of their acquisition of Southchurch.[2] However, on the basis of the fact that the estate is referred to in the confirmation charter of Edward the Confessor Brooks believed that they received it in only 1006-66.[3] The presently available documentary evidence suggests that the first Essex land obtained by the cathedral was Vange, which Archbishop Dunstan purchased from Ingeram in 963.[4] By 1066 the estate had been disposed of, and there were then two holdings at Vange with a combined assessment of 6½ hides.[5] Another transaction of Edgar's reign which may refer to land in Essex was his gift to Dunstan of half of the land (1½ cassati) at Cealuadun(e). The Westminster Domesday contains a copy of the charter which confirmed the donation, and states that it was in Essex, a view given some support by Hart.[6] The estate is not considered by either

1. Illus 4, p 101, acquisitions to 762; 5, p 130, acquisitions 792-832; 6, p 144, acquisitions 833-899; 8, p232, acquisitions 900-988; 15, p 284, acquisitions 988-1066; 16, p 312, estates held 1066.
2. No 8, and references there cited.
3. ECE No 54; ASCh No 1047; This charter is a later forgery - Brooks 'Pre-Conquest Charters', p 295, Map 6; Nichols, op cit, p 12.
4. ECE No 19; ASCh No 717 - Edgar to Ingeram, and ECE 20; ASCh No 1634 - Ingeram to Archbishop Dunstan. The former survives in original tenth century form, the latter is a twelfth century copy.
5. DB ii, ff 22b, and 71b. Held in 1066 by 2 freemen, and 1 freeman respectively. Brooks noted that the monks had also by 1066 lost Cooling and Osterlond which were obtained at the same time; Early History, p 250.
6. In his full note to ECE No 21. See also ASCh No 753 for other references.

Brooks or Nichols,[1] and it is difficult to add to what Hart has written about it. The next grant of Essex land to Canterbury Cathedral was the donation of Lawling by Ealdorman Brihtnoth, which apparently occurred in 991. Although the text which records the donation is a later compilation,[2] Christ Church tradition may have been correct in stating that Brihtnoth gave the estate to Canterbury.[3]

In the same decade that the ealdorman apparently gave Lawling to Christ Church, AEthelric bequeathed Bocking, and its berewick Bocking Hall in Mersea, to the cathedral.[4] AEthelric was however suspected of having been involved in the plot to receive Svein Forkbeard unto Essex in 994, and it was only through the influence of Archbishop AElfric and Ealdorman AEthelmear that the bequest was allowed to stand.[5] Both Lawling, and Bocking were held in 1066 by Christ Church, Lawling being assessed at 14 hides. This suggests that the cathedral had acquired the ten hides there granted to Eynsham Abbey

1. Brooks, Early History, pp 250-1; Nichols, op cit, list of Essex estates, p 7.
2. ECE No 26; ASCh No 1637. The earliest manuscript dates from the twelfth century.
3. Brooks, Early History, p 286. Nichols, op cit, pp 13-15 also comments on this donation, and considered the later history of Lawling in an article in TEAS n.s.xx (1931), 173-198 - 'The Extent of Lawling, A.D. 1310'.
4. ECE No 27; ASCh No 1501; ASW No xvi (1). The will was made 961 (Sawyer), or 995 (Hart). There also survives the Latin text of the grant of the estates by AEthelric and Leofwyn, his wife - dated 995 x 999 by both Hart (ECE 30, who also prints an edition of the text) and Sawyer (ASCh No 1218). Brooks, 'Pre-Conquest Charters', p 301 also gives an edition of the grant, and Nichols 'Custodia Essexae', pp 15-17 comments upon it.
5. Brooks, Early History, p 286. For the background see F M Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (1971), p 378. AEthelfred's confirmation of AEthelric's will is ECE No 29; ASCh No 939; ASW No xvi (2).

(Oxfordshire) in 1005, and implies that Brihtnoth's donation consisted of four hides.[1]

Early in the eleventh century the secular priests at Christ Church were replaced by a monastic chapter under a dean. The cathedral was sacked by the Danes in 1011, but Cnut's generosity helped to restore its fortunes, and by 1066 it was the richest English episcopal see, and amongst the wealthiest monasteries.[2] For reasons which are not now clear few details were kept of the estates acquired in the decades which preceded the Norman Conquest, and much of the extant documentation on them was written up after 1066, which makes the exact chronology of these acquisitions uncertain. Brooks has implied that during Stigand's archiepiscopate records were poorly kept at Christ Church, and suggested that a number of the undocumented Essex estates were acquired during this period.[3]

Early in the 1040s Wulfstan ('the wild') left land at Thurrock to the cathedral, but this was disposed of by 1066.[4] Neither did they hold Wimbish, which was granted to the monks on the death of his wife by Thurstan, since his widow AEdelgyd (24), was still alive in 1066.[5]

1. Both are described on folio 8 of DB ii. The Eynsham Charter is ECE No 39; ASCh No 911, Hart having an informative note on the Lawling estate mentioned, which consisted of 10 hides. ECE No 40; ASCh 914 is a spurious charter of 1006 by AEthelred confirming Lawling and other estates to Christ Church. Brooks, 'Pre-Conquest Charters' p 249, dates its compilation to c1035-40.
2. Brooks, 'Pre-Conquest Charters', pp 285-90; Early History, p 105.
3. 'Pre-Conquest Charters', p 249; Early History, p 106.
4. ECE No 48, with edition of 12th century Latin text; ASCh No 1644, dated to 1040-1042 by both authorities. Nichols, thesis cit, pp 7 and 25, dated its acquisition to 1038.
5. ECE No 49, ASCh No 1530is a Latin version of the grant by Thurstan, dated 1042 x 1043. The original Anglo-Saxon will survives - ECE No 59; ASCh No 1531; ASW No xxxi, and is dated 1043 x 1045 by Hart and Sawyer, and 1049 by Nichols, thesis cit, pp 7 and 25-27. See also Brooks, Early History, p 303; and for AEdelgyd and Thurstan see above, p 49 .

Twelfth century Latin abstracts survive of the grants of Stisted and Coggeshall, and St Osyth, which occurred during the reign of Edward the Confessor.[1] Although Christ Church held land in Stisted and Coggeshall in 1066[2] they had none in St Osyth, where they were also left some by Ketill (113).[3] Between 1070 and 1075 a charter was concocted at Canterbury which purported to be Edward the Confessor's confirmation of a number of estates to Christ Church, including seven in Essex.[4] The relationship between the surviving pre-Conquest diplomas (genuine and otherwise) and the Domesday record of the monks' holdings in Essex in 1066 is to be seen in Table 7, page 112.

In addition to the estates listed in Table 7 the monks also claimed, with the support of the hundred, soke over 20 acres at Midebroc had been seized after the Conquest by Thierri Pointel. Round suggested that this land was situated near Little Stambridge, where the monks held one hide.[5]

1. Stisted and Coggeshall was the gift of Godwine and Wulfgyth, ECE No 52; ASCh No 1646. St Osyth was the gift of Godwine alone, ECE No 53; ASCh No 1645. The former was dated to 1046 by both Nichols, thesis cit, pp 7 and 17-19, and Brooks 'Pre-Conquest Charters', p 310, who printed editions of both texts, pp 310-311.
2. DB ii, f 8 bis.
3. ECE No 66. For a full discussion of Ketill's estates see above, pp ff. The note to ECE No 53 is a useful summary of the St Osyth entries in Domesday.
4. ECE No 54; ASCh No 1047. For comments on its date see Brooks, 'Pre-Conquest Charters', p 249.
5. DB ii, f 99b; VCH Ex i, 567 fn 2. Round's thoughts are supported by W R Powell, 'Essex Domesday Topography since 1903', EAH forthcoming.

		1066
823 (ECE 8)	Southchurch (confirmation)	a. Southchurch 4h (f 8b)
963 (ECE 19, 20)	Vange 7 cassati	
967 (ECE 21)	Cealuadun(e) 1½ cassati	
991 (ECE 26)	Lawling	b. Lawling 14h (f 8)
995 x 999 (ECE 30)	Bocking & Bocking Hall (Mersea)	c. Bocking 4½h & 2h in Mersea (f 8)
1006 (ECE 40)	Lawling (confirmation)	see b. above
1040 x 1042 (ECE 48)	Thurrock	
1042 x 1043 (ECE 49, 59)	Wimbish	
1042 x 1066 (ECE 52)	Stisted Coggeshall	d. Stisted ½h (f 8) e. Lt Coggeshall ½h (f 8)
1042 x 1066 (ECE 53)	St Osyth	
1052 x 1066 (ECE 66)	St Osyth	
1052 (ECE 54)	Southchurch Laver Milton Hall Lawling Bocking St Osyth Stisted (confirmations)	see a. above f. Milton Hall 2h (f 8b) see b. above see c. above see d. above
1066	Recorded for the first time in Domesday book.	g. Latchingdon 2h (f 8) h. West Newland 3h (f 8) i. Lt Stambridge 1h (f 8b)

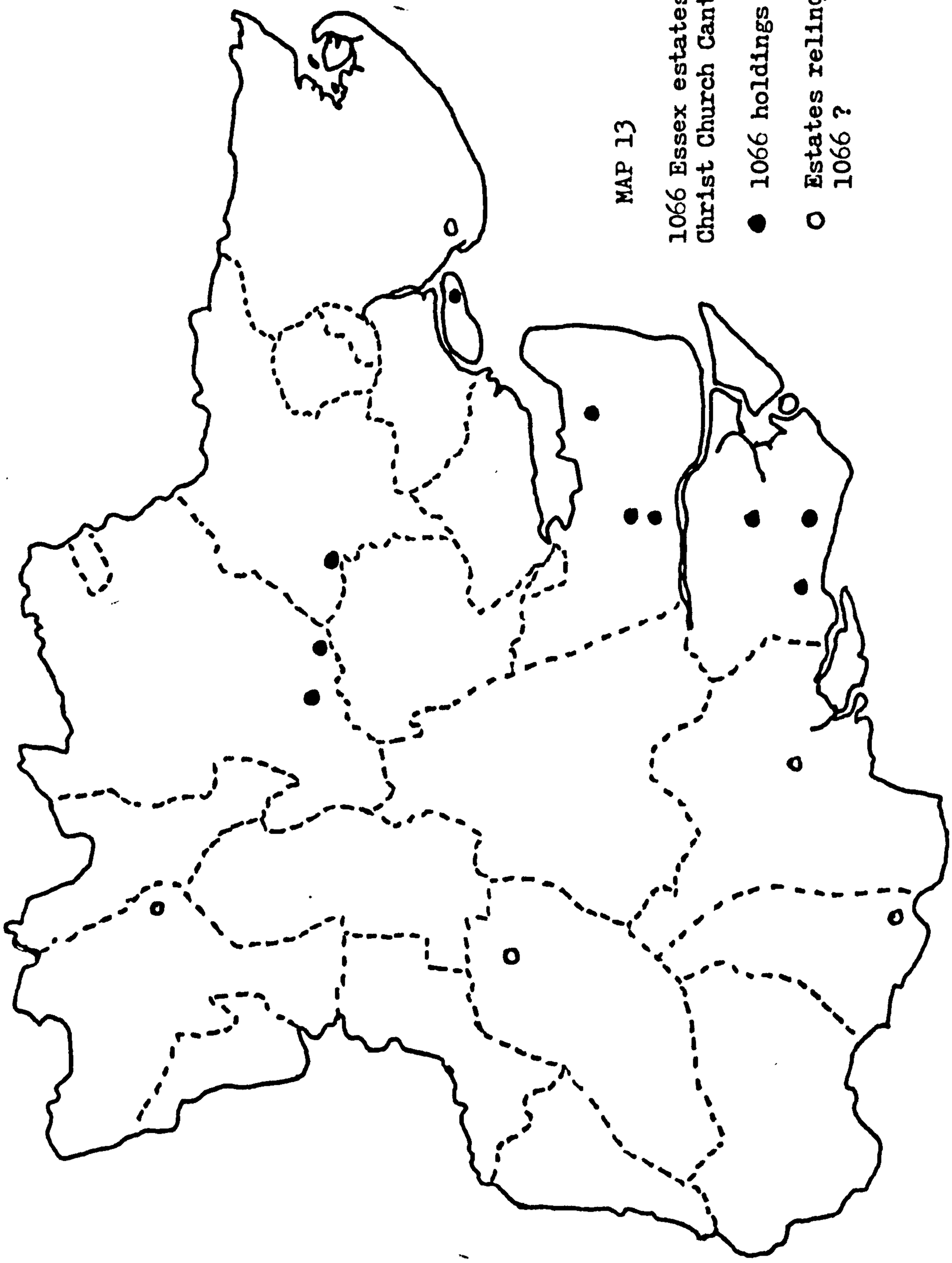
TABLE 7 PRE-CONQUEST ESSEX ESTATES OF CHRIST CHURCH CANTERBURY

MAP 13

1066 Essex estates of
Christ Church Canterbury

● 1066 holdings

○ Estates relinquished by
1066 ?



Notwithstanding the complex evidence, the discussion and the table show that the number of estates in Essex held by Christ Church was subject to change during the Anglo-Saxon period. Vange, Thurrock, and land at St Osyth were disposed of, whilst Latchingdon, West Newland, and Little Stambridge were acquired, probably not long before the Conquest. Map 13 (page113) suggests that there was a deliberate policy behind the monks' estate dispersal and acquisition programmes. The estates which they still held in the shire in 1066 were concentrated in the south-east, perhaps for ease of collecting and transporting produce and rents across the water to Canterbury.[1]

St Etheldreda's Abbey, Ely

The estates of the abbey of Ely are the best documented group of pre-Conquest estates in Essex, for all of the manors which the monks held or claimed in 1066 are attested before the Conquest. Nevertheless, their holdings in Essex (and doubtless elsewhere) often had complex histories, and although there is a valuable study of the abbey's estates generally, they have not previously been analysed individually in the way attempted here.[2]

1. The post-Conquest administration of the Christ Church estates is considered by Nichols, thesis cit, Chapter iv, pp111-161. Compare his map, after p 2, with Brooks, 'Pre-Conquest Charters', Map 1; and Map 13 here, p 113.
2. E Miller's The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely (1951) is an essential work on the Ely estates. There is a brief history of the abbey in VCH Cambs ii, 199-210. For manuscript sources see Miller, op cit pp 4-7, and Davis, Medieval Cartularies, pp 41-44. An important source for pre-Conquest land grants to Ely is the Liber Eliensis (ed E O Blake, Camden Soc 3rd ser, xcii, 1962), a mid-twelfth century manuscript containing a history of the abbey, transcripts of documents, notes on the monks' estates, and a life of St Etheldreda. The Essex entries of the Inquisitio Eliensis, a twelfth century copy of an early draft of the Ely folios of Domesday Book, contribute little to an understanding of the abbey's pre-Conquest estates, as R W Finn's 'The Essex entries in the Inquisitio Eliensis', TEAS i, ser 3 (1964), 190-195, demonstrates.

The first recorded land transaction in Essex by the abbey occurred between 971 and 984, and was the exchange of 5 hides at Holland with 4½ at Milton in Cambridgeshire that belonged to St Paul's Cathedral.[1] From the Liber Eliensis, which records details of the will of AEdgiva, the early history of the manor at Holland is known. She had bought it for £20 from Sprowe, and in her will, made between 961 and 964, she left it to'a certain noble lady' named AElftred. AElftred, probably AElfthryth the widow of Ealdorman AEthelwold of East Anglia, and after 964 the wife of King Edgar, presumably gave it to Ely.[2] In addition to gaining half a hide in the transaction, St Paul's also received at Holland 100 sheep, 55 pigs, 2 men, and 5 plough oxen more than they gave at Milton. This suggests that the exchange was initiated at Ely, perhaps because Holland was isolated from their other estates, and Milton would have been of more immediate use to them.

1. The exchange is ECE No 23, recorded on p 105 of Blake's edition of the Liber Eliensis. The transaction and the later history of Holland is considered in P H Reaney's note 'Holland, Ely and St Paul's', TEAS n s xxxii (1939), 351-2.
2. ECE No 17. Hart's notes on the personalities involved are supplemented by the details in his article, 'Athelstan "Half King" and his family', Anglo-Saxon England 2 (1973), 115-44. The genealogical table (117) shows that AElfthryth was the mother of AEthelred the 'Unready'. AEdgiva was Edgar's grandmother; Hart discusses the King's marriages on 129-31.

Not very long after this exchange, between 996 and 1019, a 'venerable lady' named AEtheliva gave the abbey land at Thaxted,[1] and by c1000 the monks had apparently acquired land nearby on the Hertfordshire border, including some at Saffron Walden and Clavering.[2] The eleventh century saw the donation of a number of Essex estates to Ely, beginning in 1000-1002 with Rettendon. This was left to the monks by AElflaed, the widow of Ealdorman Brihtnoth. Rettendon was her morgengifu, and was said to have been left to the abbey in return for the hospitality Brihtnoth received there on his way to the battle of Maldon.[3]

Other donations followed: Leofwine son of AEthulf gave land in the Rodings, and the annual farm of the royal villa of Hatfield Regis. This was between 1002 and 1016, although how he was able to grant income from a royal manor is unknown.[4] A charter supposed to date from 1004 recorded the gift of 20 hides at Littlebury to the monks by King AEthelred;[5] whilst a more authentic diploma of 1008 records the sale for £9 to the abbey by the king of 2 cassati of land at Hadstock, 10 at

1. ECE No 31, where Hart gives a translation of the passage from the Liber Eliensis.
2. According to genealogical data on serfs at these places, and Hatfield and adjacent parts of Hertfordshire; ECE No 33. The associations of this document with Ely are not all that strong. Both Saffron Walden and Clavering were probably ancient royal manors until shortly before 1066 (DB ii ff 62, and 46b), and there are no other records of Ely having held land in either of them.
3. ECE No 34. For a note on the munificence of Brihtnoth and his family to Ely see Miller, op cit, p 22.
4. ECE No 35. The problems of the grant of the Hatfield farm are mentioned in my note 'Mersea before 1046: a reconsideration', EAH 15 (1983), 173-175.
5. ECE No 36, with notes on the diplomatic aspects of the charter, which must have been compiled after the acquisition of Stretley Green in Littlebury in 1008; see next note.

Stretley Green in Littlebury, and 7 in Linton (Cambridgeshire).[1] In the 1020s Godgifu, the widow of an ealdorman, bequeathed to the Abbey land at High Easter, South Fambridge, and Terling,[2] whilst a little later (between 1029 and 1035) it was arranged that Littlebury should supply food for the monks for 2 weeks a year, and Hadstock for 4 days.[3] A further bequest in 1036 by Lustwine gave the Abbey land at (amongst other places) Pentlow, Wimbish, Yardley Hall in Thaxted, South Hanningfield, and Ashdon.[4] What may represent the extent of the Abbey's estates at an unknown date during the reign of Edward the Confessor is contained in a confirmation charter which mentioned land in Essex at Hadstock, Littlebury, Stretley Green in Littlebury, the two Rodings, Rettendon, Amberden Hall in Debden, Broxted, Easter, Fambridge, and Terling.[5]

The two other pre-Conquest references to the abbey's estates tell a less constructive story. According to the Liber Eliensis Asgeirr (20) 'invaded' Pleshey, formerly part of the abbey's Good Easter estate. Between 1045 and 1066 Abbot Wulfric was able to reach an agreement with Asgeirr which recognised his occupation of

1. ECE No 41, with comments on the later histories of these holdings. For the sale of estates by AEthelred see S Keynes, The Diplomas of King AEthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016 (1980), p 108.
2. ECE No 44, with extensive note on the identification of the estates. The donor has not been identified.
3. ECE No 45. The Ely food rents are considered by Miller, op cit, pp 37-41.
4. The text of the will is lost, although there is an accurate record of it in the Liber Eliensis, p 158 in Blake's edition. Hart points out that only South Hanningfield went direct to the monks.
5. ECE No 55; ASCh No 1051, where Sawyer lists 32 manuscript versions, none earlier than the twelfth century.

the estate during his lifetime, but that after it the manor would revert to Ely.[1] Wulfric also secretly conveyed several of the monastery's estates to his brother Gudmund (103), including land in Essex at Bensted Green in Sandon.[2]

Table 8 below relates the pre-Conquest acquisitions of land with the estates held and claimed by the abbey in 1066 and 1086.

Although the abbey at Ely was established in the seventh century, Miller has shown that the origins of the church's medieval lands and liberties are to be sought in the refoundation charter issued by King Edgar in 970.[3] The subsequent history of the accumulation of land by the monks fell into two well-defined phases.[4] The first lasted only from 970 to 984, and during it Bishop Ethelwold established an adequate landed endowment for the house which was based on land in and around the Isle of Ely itself, with a few holdings in other shires.[5] The only Essex estate acquired in this period - and soon disposed of - was Holland. A second period of acquisition followed in the 990s and early decades of the

1. ECE No 61. For a history of Pleshey see F Williams, Pleshey Castle, Essex (XII-XVI Century): Excavations in the Bailey, 1959-1963 (1977), 1-22, which is an historical survey of the parish from prehistoric times to the early modern period. Unfortunately it ignores the Anglo-Saxon period, and does not mention the holdings of Ely in the neighbourhood. Pleshey's fate between 1066 and 1086 is considered by Finn ('Essex entries in the I.E.', 191, 195), who quotes from the Historia Eliensis the statement that Ely received High Easter in the reign of Cnut from a widow named Godiva.
2. ECE No 62. Bensted Green included land in the parishes of West Hanningfield and Rettendon.
3. Miller, op cit, p 15; the charter is ASCh No 779. Of the 11 authorities listed only Hart believed it to be authentic.
4. Miller, op cit, pp 16-18 for what follows.
5. Ethelwold was Bishop of Winchester, whose work of helping with the restoration of churches ruined by the Danes is summarised in DNB v, 903-4.

		1066
964 x 971	Holland 5h	
(ECE 17 & 23)	exchanged 971 x 984	
996 x 1019	Thaxted	
(ECE 31)		
by c1000	Saffron Walden	
(ECE 33)	Clavering	
1000 x 1002	Rettendon	a. Rettendon 20h (f 19), plus 3½h claimed 1086 (ff 19, 51, 75)
(ECE 34)		
1002 x 1016	Rodings	
(ECE 35)		b. Aythorpe? Roding 3h 45a (f 19)
		c. High Roding 2½h (f 36b)
		d. Roding Morel 1½h 45a (f 49), plus 35a at Shellow Bowels claimed 1086 (f 62)
	Farm of Hatfield Regis	
1004	Littlebury 20h	e. Littlebury 25h and 5h 75a berewick (f 19)
(ECE 36)		
1008	Hadstock 2 cassati	f. Hadstock 2h (f 19)
(ECE 41)	Stretley Green 10 cassati	Included in Littlebury, e., above. See note to ECE 41.
1022 x 1029	High Easter	g. High Easter 6½h claimed 1086 (f 60)
(ECE 44)		
	South Fambridge	h. South Fambridge 3½h claimed 1086 (f 97b)
	Terling	i. In Witham 1h claimed 1086 (f 2) - see ECE 44

1029 x 1035	Littlebury)		see e. above
	)	Food rents	
(ECE 45)	Hadstock)		see f. above
c1036	Pentlow		
(ECE 47)	Wimbish		
	Yardley Hall		
	South Hanningfield		j. South Hanningfield 2½h claimed 1086 (f 25)
	Ashdon		
1042 x 1066	Hadstock		see f. above
(ECE 55)	Littlebury		see e. above
	Stretley Green		see e. above
	Two Rodings		see b. to d. above
	Rettendon		see a. above
	Amberden Hall		k. Amberden Hall 5h claimed 1086 (f 73b)
	Broxted		l. Broxted 3h (f 18b)
	Easter		see g. above
	Fambridge		see h. above
	Terling		see i. above
1045 x 1065	Pleshey (High Easter)		see g. above[1]
(ECE 61)	Lease		
1052 x 1066	Bensted Green Lease		m. Bensted Green 4h claimed 1086 (f 54)
(ECE 62)			

TABLE 8 PRE-CONQUEST ESTATES OF THE ABBEY OF ELY

1. There are difficulties with the identification of the Ely land in Easter. According to Hart ECE No 44 refers to High Easter, but ECE No 61 to Pleshey as having been part of Good Easter. It is possible that there was originally one Easter, which the abbey owned. The parish boundaries support such a view, and suggest that Pleshey was carved off from High Easter, and Mashbury from Good Easter; W & K Rodwell, Historic Churches - a wasting asset (1977), map B p viii.

eleventh century, inspired by the donations of Brihtnoth, ealdorman of Essex, and members of his family. It was during this second period that the bulk of the holdings listed in Table 8 were obtained. However, this period of gains was followed, according to Miller, by one during the last decades before the Conquest in which losses of land exceeded acquisitions from purchases. Amongst the losses he cited Asgeirr's (20) seizure of Pleshey, and the way that Wulfric helped his brother's matrimonial ambitions at the monks' expense.[1]

The extent of the land held and claimed in 1086 by the abbey in Essex would appear to support Miller's thesis. The monks had in demesne 63 hides and 45 geld acres, but claimed a further 26 hides and 35 acres, which certainly suggests losses on a considerable scale. However, detailed consideration of the pre-Conquest occupants of the Essex estates claimed by Ely in 1086 sheds a more favourable light on the history of the Abbey's land management in the decades before 1066.

The loss of Bensted Green to Gudmund (103), Abbot Wulfric's brother, has already been mentioned; as has the lease of part of the extensive Easter estate to Asgeirr (20). The Domesday scribe noted with regard to the latter that although Asgeirr held it on the day that King Edward was alive and dead the land was actually the Abbey's.[2] The two portions of the monks' Roding manor claimed in 1086 may have been leased prior to the Conquest - to Saemaer (149), and an unnamed freeman who had 35 acres in Shellow

1. Miller, op cit, pp 24-25, where he refers to the acquisition of only two estates, and the loss of nine.
2. DB ii, f 60b.

Bowells that were part of it.[1] The position at South Hanningfield is harder to understand. The 2½ hides there that the monks claimed in 1086 were held freely by two men, and only commended to the abbot according to the Chelmsford hundred jurors.[2] The story at South Fambridge is also hard to establish since the Domesday text does not state who held the estate in the time of King Edward, although the remark that half a hide had been lost since 1066 implies that Ely still held it after the Conquest.[3] However, the hide at Terling, recorded amongst the Witham sokeland, may well have been lost before the Conquest.[4] It is likely that Sigeweard of Maldon (157) had taken Amberden on terms similar to Asgeirr's acquisition of Easter. Sigeweard appears elsewhere in the Essex Domesday text holding land of Ely - one and a quarter hides at Rettendon. This was probably leased, as doubtless were Leofsunu's (128) 2½ hides in the same parish.[5]

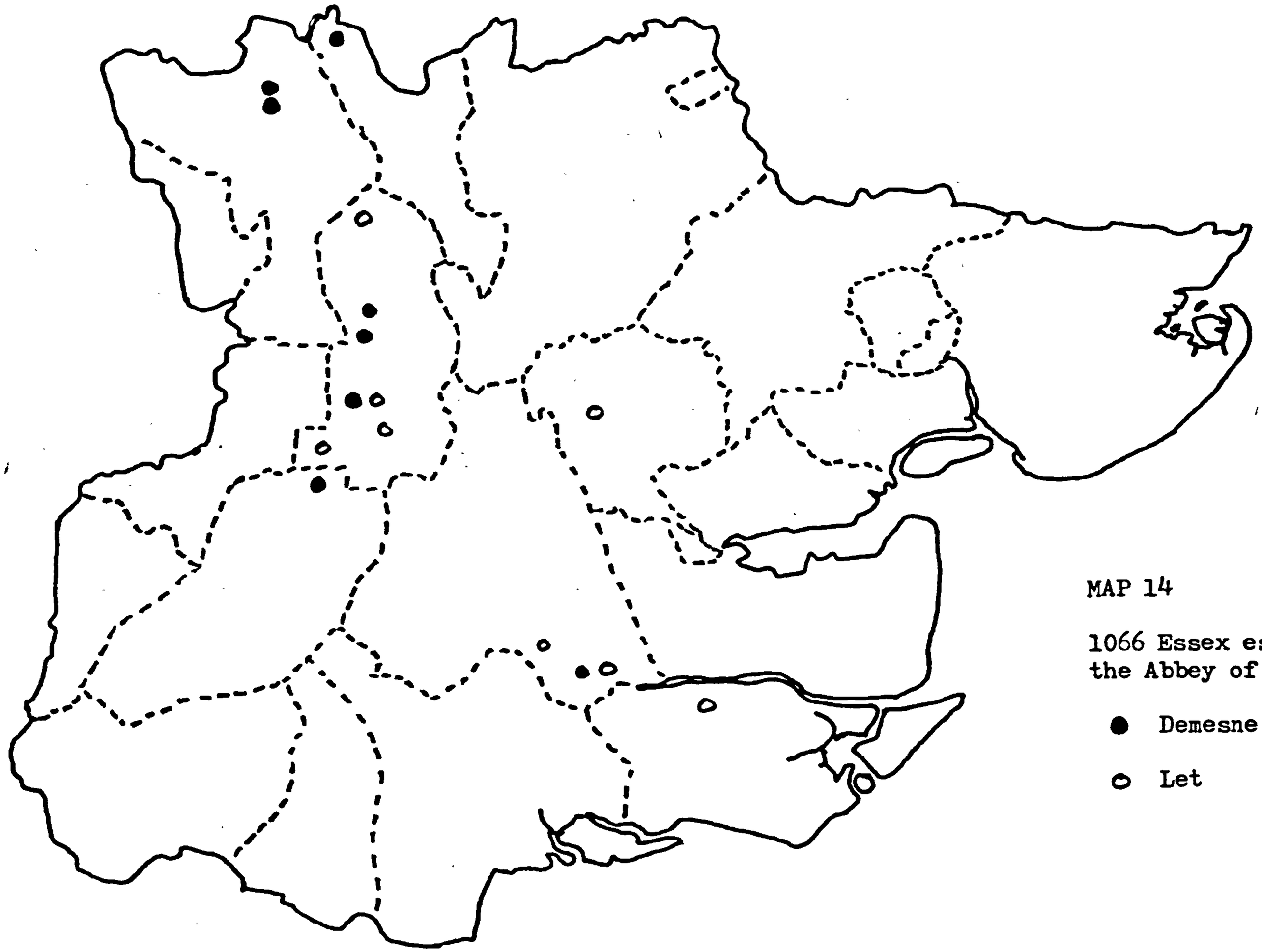
This survey suggests that in Essex at least, although the Ely monks had lost land before the Conquest, most of their losses occurred after it, during the redistribution of estates amongst the invaders. Many of the claims made by the abbey to the Domesday Commissioners arose from the fact that estates which were only leased to Saxon landholders were passed to their Norman 'successors' and not returned to the monks.[6]

1. Ibid, ff 49, and 62 respectively. See also the comments of Morant in History of Essex (1768) ii, 475.
2. Ibid, f 25. The history of Ely's claims and estates here is far from clear, although it appears from Morant, ibid, 35-39, that the only Ely land in the Hanningfields after the Conquest was part of the manor of Rettendon.
3. DB ii, f 97b.
4. Ibid, f 2. Morant was of the opinion that the land in Terling held in 1086 by Ranulf Peverel was that confirmed to Ely by Edward the Confessor in ECE No 55; History of Essex ii, 125; however there is nothing in the Domesday entries (ff 72, and 99b) to support this view.
5. DB ii, f 73b (Amberden); ibid f 19 (Rettendon, duplicated on f 75); Leofsunu's holding is also described on f 19.
6. This aspect of the transference of estates is considered by Finn in The Eastern Counties, pp 17-20, and by Miller, op cit, pp 65-67. The latter is unfortunately only a brief survey of what was an important period of the abbey's history.

Of the 26 hides and 35 geld acres claimed in 1086, some 19 hides 10 acres were probably let in 1066, and lost as a result of the transfer of the estates to the Norman 'successors' of the abbey's pre-Conquest tenants. Other post-Conquest losses occurred at South Fambridge (3½ hides), and Aythorpe? Roding (1 hide).[1] The only holdings likely to have been lost before 1066 were Bensted Green (4 hides), and Terling (1 hide).

The implications of these findings lie in part beyond the scope of this study, but they do suggest that Miller's conclusions on the quality of Wulfwine's abbacy may require modification. His ability to make Asgeirr recognise that he held Pleshey only for his lifetime shows that Wulfwine and his abbey were very much more than a negligible force in the power-politics of late Anglo-Saxon Essex. Map 14 (page 124) demonstrates Wulfric's abilities as an estate manager, since it strongly suggests that he deliberately leased those of the abbey's Essex estates that were too far away to be able to supply the monks with fresh provisions, and only retained in demesne those close to Ely, in the north-western part of the shire.

1. The hide taken from Aythorpe? Roding (DB ii, f19), is recorded as having been added to William of Warenne's Leaden Roding manor (ibid, f 36b). Although the hundred testified that the land belonged to Ely the Abbey did not make any claim to it at the Domesday Inquest.



MAP 14

1066 Essex estates of the Abbey of Ely

● Demesne

o Let

St Paul's Cathedral and the Bishop of London[1]

In Domesday Book a clear distinction was made between the lands of the bishopric of London and those of the canons of St Paul's Cathedral. The division to the church's estates between the two bodies probably occurred only shortly before the Norman Conquest,[2] and the pre-1066 documentary evidence for the accumulation of land by both are considered here in one chronological sequence.

The earliest known Anglo-Saxon diploma referring to land in Essex is that which recorded the gift of Tillingham by AEthelbert, king of Kent, to Bishop Mellitus for St Paul's Minster. The donation was made between 604 and 616, and although the existing manuscripts preserve a spurious version of the document, it may well record part of the original foundation endowment of the newly established cathedral church of the East Saxons.[3] About a century later 70 cassati of land in regione qui dicitur Deningei were given to Ingwald, bishop of London by King Suebred. The document recording

1. There is a concise history of St Paul's in VCH London i, 409-433. Relevant manuscript sources are listed by Davis in Medieval Cartularies, pp 67-68, and some of the diplomas are printed by M Gibbs in Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London (Camden Soc. 3rd ser., lviii, 1939). On the bishops of London D. Whitelock's Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London (1974) is an important, if short, study which should be read in conjunction with Barlow's notes on the history of the diocese in The English Church 1000-1066, pp 219-20. P J Taylor's unpublished University of London PhD thesis, 'The Estates of the Bishopric of London from the Seventh Century to the Early Sixteenth Century' (1976) is of direct relevance to the present study.
2. Taylor, op cit, p 52, suggested that such a division may have been made by Earconwald. This seems unlikely, particularly since property in London was still held in common by bishop and canons in 1086 - Early Charters, p xviii, fn 2. The way in which estates in Essex were variously described as being held by or given to the bishop or canons does not support the thesis of any early permanent division of land between the two, as the following discussion will show.
3. ECE No 1; ASCh No 5. The earliest text dates from the twelfth century. On the foundation of St Paul's see Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, ii, 3; p 142 in Colgrave and Mynor's edition.

the donation can hardly be (as has been claimed) the transcript of an early eighth century charter, since the hundred of Dengie (which did not then exist) was not known by that name until the twelfth century.[1] The grant probably refers to the manor of Dengie, rather than the hundred of that name.

The next attested acquisition is described in a post-Conquest 'modification' of a ninth century charter, but is probably correct in recording that in 867 15 mansiones at Navestock were sold to St Paul's Church by King AEthelred for 60 gold mancuses.[2] The will of Bishop Theodred, made between 942 and 951 shows that certain of the Cathedral's estates were by then held by the bishop ex officio, and also provides references to previously unrecorded estates at Dunmow and St Osyth. In his will Theodred left these and other holdings to St Paul's, presumably to ensure that they returned to the church on his death.[3]

A little later, in 957, King Edgar gave 10 cassati at Orsett to Bishop Brihthelm;[4] while the acquisition by the canons of Holland from Ely has already been described.[5] A further donation received during a period when the cathedral was apparently gaining estates

1. ECE No 7, notes and references there cited. See also Taylor, op cit, p 17, and ASCh No 1787. For the change in the name of the hundred of Dengie see P H Reaney, The Place-Names of Essex (1935), pp 207-8; and below, Chapter 7.
2. ECE No 9, with notes based on Early Charters, pp 2-3. ASCh No 337, where the earliest extant manuscript listed dates from the twelfth century.
3. ECE No 11; ASCh No 1526; ASW No i. Commented upon by Taylor, op cit p 48. Of the four Essex estates mentioned two were subsequently lost, and of the other two one was held in 1066 by the bishop, and the other by the canons.
4. ECE No 14, with notes on the date; ASCh 1794.
5. Above, p115.

on a considerable scale was the bequest c995 by AEthelric "to St Paul's for the bishop"[1] of Rayne "for the provision of lights and for the communication of Christianity"; with other land at Copford and Bocking.[2]

At the end of the tenth century a return was made of the number of sailors provided by the St Paul's estates to man a ship in the navy, and the resulting list gives a picture of the land then in the possession of the bishop and canons.[3] Of the holdings attested in earlier extant charters and wills, Dengie had apparently been disposed of, whilst Bocking and Rayne were not mentioned. However, nine estates appear for the first time, and suggest that further, undocumented, holdings had been acquired, probably during the second half of the tenth century, a period which marked the beginning of the growth in the St Paul's estates.[4] Donations continued at a healthy rate into the eleventh century. In 998 Leofwine left Barling to Bishop Wulfstan,[5] and between c1004 and 1012 AEthelflaed gave 4 hides at Laver to the cathedral. Since her estates were forfeited in 1012 it is questionable whether St Paul's ever possessed Laver, and it is likely that the confirmation charter was concocted to add weight to the canons' claims to the estate, a claim which they had abandoned by 1086.[6]

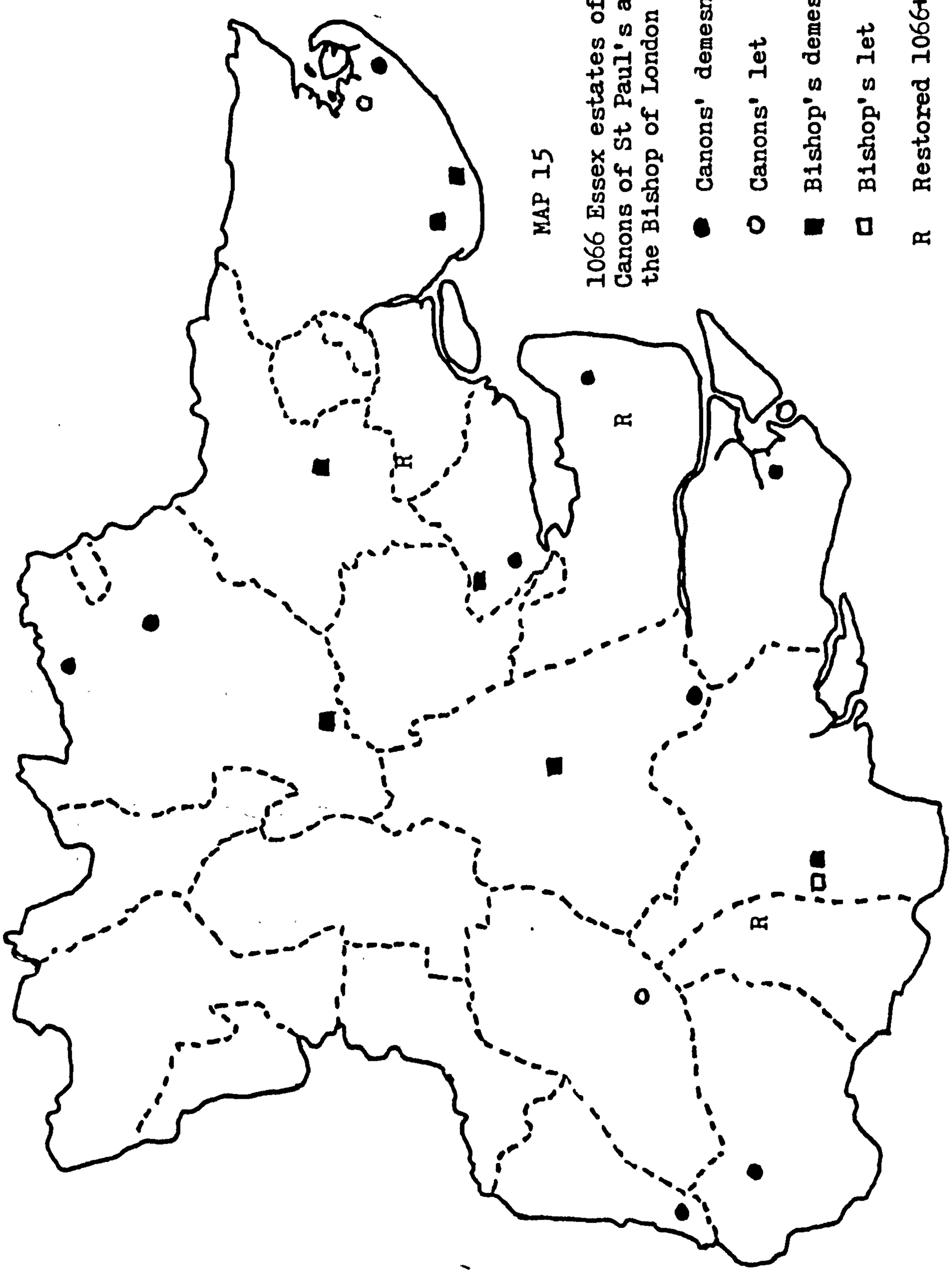
1. into sce Paule þ am bisceope
2. ECE No 28; ASCh 1501, ASW No xvi (1). Hart has a long note on the identification of the estates mentioned.
3. ECE No 28. Taylor's analysis, op cit, pp 41-44, is the fullest discussion of this important document.
4. ECE No 28; Taylor, op cit, pp41-44, suggested (p 44) that Rayne included Copford. Bocking is not mentioned again and may not have passed to St Paul's.
5. ECE No 32; ASCh No 1552.
6. ECE No 37; ASCh No 1495; ASW No xxii is her will; and ECE No 38, ASCh No 908 a charter of AEthelred confirming the bequest of Laver, and land in Hertfordshire, to St Paul's. The earliest surviving manuscript of it dates from the twelfth century.

There was however no doubt about their title to Heybridge, which was bequeathed by AElflaed, the widow of Ealdorman Brihthnoth, between 1000 and 1002, to "the community at St Paul's Minster". The estate had been left by her father to his son AElfwold on condition that he paid an annual food rent to the cathedral.[1] Some time after obtaining Heybridge a charter supposed to have been issued by Athelstan was concocted, which confirmed the church's title to some of the St Paul's estates. It mentioned land at Belchamp and Wickham, Heybridge, Eadwulfesness, and Runwell. Of these five only the first two occur in the ship list of the 990s, which suggests that Eadwulfesness and Runwell were acquired around the turn of the century.[2] The only 'charter' of Edward the Confessor in favour of St Paul's is a post-Conquest forgery which confirmed the liberties and estates of Barling and Chingford (the latter not previously attested). This diploma was probably compiled to support their claim to land that was lost in these places after 1066.[3] At an unknown date in the reign of Edward Eadgyva gave some land at Weeley to the canons, which was presumably incorporated into the manor of Eadwulfesness.[4]

1. AElflaed's will is ECE No 34; ASCh No 1486; ASW No xv. Her father was AElfgar, ealdorman of Essex, and his will of 946 x 951 is ECE No 13; ASCh No 1483; and ASW No ii.
2. ECE No 16; ASCh No 453. Taylor, op cit, p 44 put forward the view that Eadwulfnesness was included in the St Osyth estate of the ship list. This was based on the premiss that St Paul's held the whole of the Tendring peninsula in the same way that they were mistakenly believed to have had the Dengie hundred. Moreover, Taylor, p 34, failed to notice that Eadwulfesness had originally consisted of 30 hides, overlooking the later manor of Bircho, DB ii, f 32b.
3. ECE No 56; ASCh No 1056. The suggested purpose and occasion for the compilation of the charter is Hart's.
4. ECE No 58; Early Charters, p 280; Taylor, op cit, p45. Hart's comments on this donation, first recorded after the Conquest, are again of value.

If Wanstead and Chelmsford were gained in the years immediately before the Conquest some estates were also disposed of. No more is heard of the holdings at Dunmow, Holland, Tolleshunt[1], Laindon, or Shopland, so they were presumably sold. Cnut helped himself to the 30 hide manor at Southminster, which with 4 hides and 105 geld acres at Little Warley was returned to Bishop William by the Conqueror.[2] It is likely that Layer Marney had also been lost by 1066. In that year there were two holdings in the parish each assessed at three hides, and held respectively by two freemen, and one freewoman. These six hides were returned by 'King William's command' after the Bishop had 'proved his right to these 2 manors (sic) for the use of his church after King Edward's death'.[3] The bishop and canons each lost small amounts of land after the Conquest at Navestock, and West (?) Orsett as a result of the transfer of leased estates to the successors of their Saxon tenants.[4] At Navestock the land was held by a priest, while at Orsett the bishop had leased the hide to Engelric (75) who

1. Not Tollesbury, as incorrectly referred to by Taylor, op cit, pp 41, and 427.
2. DB ii f 10 bis. It may be that this Little Warley holding was the same as the Codham Hall estate (in Great Warley) recorded in the ship list. However, there are problems with this identification. Codham Hall, Warley is not mentioned in either Morant's History of Essex, nor in VCH Ex vii. Reaney (Place-Names of Essex) gives only two references to it, in 1276, and 1497. There was also a Codham Hall in Wethersfield, which Reaney felt inclined to tentatively identify with the ship list estate (op cit, p 466). However this manor does not appear in Domesday, and the earliest reference Reaney cited for it was 1235. Morant (op cit), 372 ff, gives a full history of the estate from 1255. It is doubtful whether any connection between these two St Paul's holdings can ever be firmly established.
3. DB ii, f 10.
4. Navestock is described on f 13 of DB ii, and the history of the estate chronicled in VCH Ex iv, 143. The Orsett holding is recorded in DB ii, f 26b.


MAP 15
1066 Essex estates of the Canons of St Paul's and the Bishop of London
Canons' demesne
Canons' let
Bishop's demesne
Bishop's let
Restored 1066+
R
R
R
R
O

also held Bircho of the canons.[1] This suggests that the cathedral's manors had by 1066 been divided between bishop and canons, and probably on a permanent basis. What had presumably begun as an ad hoc system had by the mid-eleventh century become institutionalised into two separate groups. Indeed, by 1086 they had been joined by a third - the 'fee' of the bishop - his personal holdings, distinct from those which he held whilst occupying the see of London.[2]

In 1066 the canons had a total of 83¾ hides 11 geld acres in Essex, of which 3½ hides and 20 acres were let. The bishop had 58½ hides 22½ acres in demesne and only one hide farmed out.[3] The small percentage of their land that was leased may be compared with the 2/3rds of Ely's that was at farm in 1066. This was presumably because the St Paul's estates were closer to the cathedral than were the Ely manors to the monastery. The 39 hides 105 acres restored to the bishop by King William represented about 28% of the combined 1066 holdings of bishop and canons, and 40% of the bishops' land in 1086. This suggests pre-Conquest losses on a more extensive scale than those suffered by Ely, who did much worse during the early Norman period than did St Paul's.[4]

1. DB ii, f 32, an estate he managed to retain, and which passed by 1086 to Eustace of Boulogne.
2. The distribution of the bishops' and canons' lands in 1066 is shown in Map 15, page 130. Bishop William's fee is described on ff 11-12b of DB ii.
3. Listed in Table 9, pp 132 & 133, which relates pre-Conquest records of land acquisition with 1066 holdings recorded in Domesday Book.
4. For comments on Ely's losses see above, pp 121ff.

Manor, date of acquisition, and original extent	Attested 942 x 951 (ECE 11)	995 x 998 (ECE 28)	1002 (ECE 16)	1066
Tillingham 604 x 616	X	X		C 20h 6a (f 13)
Dengie 706 x 709 70 cassati	X			
Navestock 867 15 mansiones		X		C 1086 claim ½h 30a (f 13) let 1066?
Dunmow ?	X	X		
St Osyth ?	X	X		B 7h (f 11)
Orsett 957 10 cassati		X		B 13h (f 9b)
Holland 971 x 984		X		
Copford c995		X		B 1½h 35a & 1h 2½a (f 10b)
Rayne c995				B 4h 45a (f 10)
Tolleshunt ?		X		
Wickham ?	X	X		C 2¾h (f 13) B 3h (f 10b)
Laindon ?	X			
Shopland ?	X			
West Orsett ?				B 1h (f 26b) let
Belchamp ?	X	X		C 5h (f 12b)
Southminster ?	X			(B 30h (f 10) returned TRW)
Clacton ?	X			B 20h (f 11)
Codham Hall, Great Warley ?	X			(Lt Warley (B 4h-15a (f 10), given TRW)
Barling 998 (8 mansae 1066 x 1086, ECE 56)				C 2h 45a (f 13b)
Heybridge 1000 x 1002 8 hides		X		C 8h (f 13b)
Eadwulfesness ?		X		C 27h (f 13b), 3h (f32b) let
Runwell ? 12 hides		X		C 8h (f 13b)

Chingford ? (5 mansae 1066 x1086 - ECE 56)	C	6h (f 12b)
Wanstead ?	C	1h (f 9b)
Chelmsford ?	B	8h (f 10b)
Layer Marney ?	(B	6h (f 10), returned TRW)

Notes B - Bishop's manors

C - Canons' manors

TABLE 9 PRE-1066 ESTATES OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON AND THE CANONS OF ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

St Ouen's Abbey, Rouen

The charter by which Edward the Confessor confirmed to St Ouen's Abbey the gift of the manor of West Mersea has attracted the attention of a number of scholars since the fourteenth century transcript of it was rediscovered in 1968.[1] The diploma relates that Edward gave the estate to the abbey only two days after he became king of England, although the charter was not issued until 1046. The monks still held the estate, assessed at 20 hides, in 1086, and also received 2/3rds of the forfeitures of the hundred of Winstree.[2] The grant of the lordship of the hundred was not mentioned in the charter, and was presumably included amongst the unspecified appurtenances of the manor. It seems likely that West Mersea was an ancient royal manor, to which the lordship of the hundred was appurtenant; a similar situation prevailed in neighbouring Witham.[3]

The grant of Mersea to St Ouen is the only known gift of an Essex estate to a Norman religious house before the Conquest, although Robert fitz Wimarc (147) - a Breton - was well-endowed by Edward with land in the shire.[4]

1. An edition of the charter from the Rouen cartulary was published by D Matthews in The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions (1962), pp 143-9. For a note on the other version, once included in the Colchester Borough Records see Hart's note to ECE No 63. This diploma is not includdd in ASCh. Hart published a definitive edition of the text in 'The Mersea Charter of Edward the Confessor', EAH 12 (1981), 94-102. His views on the boundaries of the estate were challenged by N Crummy, 'Mersea Island: the 11th Century Boundaries', EAH 14 (1982), 87-93; whilst his reconstruction of the pre-1046 history of the estate has been called into question by P B Boyden, 'Mersea before 1046: a reconsideration' EAH 15 (1983), 173-175. The conclusions reached in the latter paper are followed here.
2. DB ii, f 22.
3. See below, Chapter 7.
4. Robert's estates are discussed above, pp 79 ff. For the post - Conquest Essex estates of Norman monasteries, see Matthew, op cit.

Canons of the Holy Cross of Waltham [1]

The discovery c1035 of a stone cross on the Somerset estate of a staller named Tofig, and its journey to another of his manors was the origin of the religious community at Waltham.[2] In addition to the vill of Waltham itself (where the cross came to rest) he endowed the community with five estates, three of which - Kelvedon, Loughton, and Alderton - were in Essex. They supported the two priests and other clerks who served the cross, and ministered to the 66 men who accompanied it on its journey and settled near its resting place. After Tofig's death his son Athelstan was deprived of the estates which he had inherited from his father (which apparently included the land given to the church), and many of them were given by Edward the Confessor to Harold. Perhaps as a result of being healed at the cross Harold assumed the role of patron of Waltham,[3] and restored to the church Loughton and Alderton. He also gave it 8 other Essex estates - Netteswell, Nazeing, Paslow, Walkfares, Debden, Woodford, South Weald, and Upminster, - which with holdings elsewhere increased the total number of the church's estates to 17. At the same time he replaced the two priests with a dean and 12 secular canons. Harold's donations were confirmed in a charter issued in 1062 by Edward.[4] By 1066 the canons had obtained Epping, and the accumulation of their Essex lands before the Conquest is represented in Table 10, page 136.

1. There is a brief history of what became Waltham Abbey in VCH Ex ii, 166-172. For a full account see R W Ransford's unpublished University of London PhD thesis (1983) 'The Early Charters of Waltham Abbey Essex from 1062 to 1230', which partly supersedes Davis's notes in Medieval Cartularies pp 113-4.
2. These events are described in Foundation of Waltham Abbey: the tract De inventione Sanctae Crucis nostrae in Monte Acuto (Montacute, Somerset) et deductione ejusdem apud Waltham, ed W Stubbs (1861); compiled shortly after 1177, Ransford, op cit, p 59.
3. Ransford, op cit, p 62. For the healing see Vita Haroldi. The Romance of the Life of Harold, King of England, ed W de G Birch (1885), pp 118-121. The Vita was compiled c1204, and is a later and less reliable source than De inventione; Ransford, op cit, p 61.
4. ECE No 67; ASCh No 1043; Ransford, op cit No 1, pp 228-235, gives an edition of the text.

Estate	Tovi's gift	Restored by Harold	Given by Harold	1066
Waltham	X c			40 h plus appurtenances, held by Bishop of Durham (f 15b)
Kelvedon	X			Westminster, see Table 11
Loughton	X	X		4 h 20 a, and 2½ h (f 16)
Alderton (Loughton)	X	X c		4½ h 10 a (f 16)
South Weald		X c		2 h, 1 sokeman with 1 h (f 16b)
Paslow (High Ongar)		X c		1½ h (f 16)
Netteswell		X		? not mentioned in DB
Upminster		X c		2½ h 40 a (f 16b)
Woodford		X c		5 h (f 16)
Loughton		X		4 h 20 a, and 2½ h (f 16); ? (f 100b)
Debden (Loughton)		X c		3 h 40 a (f 16)
Walkfares (Boreham)		X c		3 2/3 h (f 16b)
Nazeing		X c.		2 h 15 a (f 15b)
Epping				5 h (f 16)

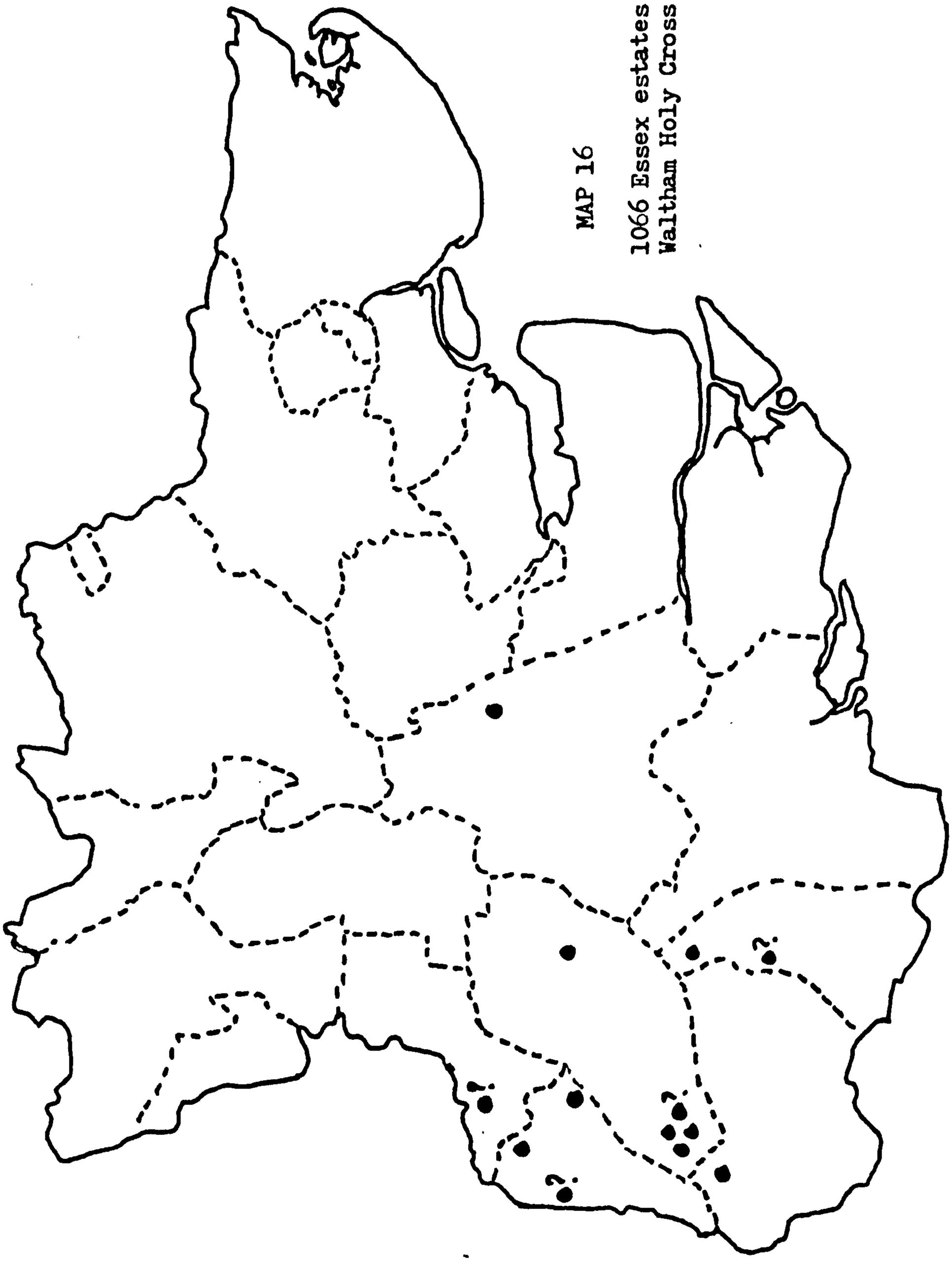
Notes c indicates that the estate is mentioned in Edward's 1062 charter.

TABLE 10 Waltham Holy Cross Estates c 1035 - 1066

Two of the estates mentioned require further comment. The first is Kelvedon, which was given by Tofig c1035, but is not subsequently recorded as a Waltham property. In 1066 both Kelvedon and Kelvedon Hatch were held by Westminster Abbey.[1] The other, and more important holding was Waltham itself. According to De inventione this was also one of the estates given by Tofig to his church on its foundation. It presumably passed to Harold, who seems to have kept it since according to Domesday he held it in 1066. After the Conquest William gave it and other ex-Waltham property to the Bishop of Durham, and it was restored to the canons by William Rufus. It is mentioned in Edward's charter, as amended after Rufus's death.[2]

The canons' 1066 holdings (including Netteswell) are plotted on Map 16, page 138. The total assessment of their 11 recorded estates was a little under 39 hides, which made them the fifth largest of the ten ecclesiastical landholders in the shire. Their estates, which had been accumulated during the course of only 30 years, were all fairly close to Waltham itself, and were to form the nucleus of their considerably expanded estates in the future.[3]

1. See below, Table 11, page 140.
2. Ransford, op cit, pp 69, and 143-150. The earliest surviving manuscript of the charter dates from the 13th century. The Domesday description of Waltham (ii f 15b) is similar to those of ancient royal manors. It was assessed at 40 hides, had attached sokeland, and 12 houses and a gate in London. This casts doubt on the story of De inventione that Waltham belonged to Tofig, and was uninhabited when the cross reached it. See also VCH Ex iv, 155-156, and above, p 108 fn 6 on the possible gift of land at Kelvedon to Christ Church Canterbury.
3. For the history of the canons' Essex estates to 1230 see Ransford, op cit, pp 117-154.



MAP 16

1066 Essex estates of
Waltham Holy Cross

St Peter's Abbey Westminster[1]

It is impossible to say a great deal about the evolution of the Essex land holdings of Westminster Abbey, since the texts of only two genuine pre-Conquest diplomas have survived.[2] There are however also six later medieval texts which purport to be pre-Conquest documents, three of which are known to have been forged by Osbert de Clare before 1139.[3] All eight of these documents are listed in order of their supposed dates in Table 11 (page 140), with notes of the estates to which they refer, and the 1066 holdings of the abbey as recorded in the Essex Domesday text.

The only reliable information that can be derived from these various diplomas is that of the two estates bequeathed to the monks in 998, Kelvedon was still held in 1066, but Marks Hall had been disposed of or absorbed into another holding.[4] Moulsham, left to them in the 1050s, was also still held in 1066. It is not clear from Domesday whether the monks held Bowers Gifford, Geddesdoune[5], or Paglesham in 1066, but even if they did the total geld assessment of their Essex lands amounted to only 21 hides 50 acres, which was insufficient to

1. There is a brief history of the abbey in VCH London i, 433-57; 433-5 are particularly relevant to the early history of the house. Its estates in the medieval period are considered in detail in B Harvey's Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages (1977), pp 20-7 of which give an account of its pre-1066 history, with a few references to early acquisitions of land. The abbey's cartularies are described by Davis, Medieval Cartularies pp 116-7.
2. They are ECE No 32, the original will of Leofwine; and ECE 65, a 13th century version of a probably authentic writ.
3. Osbert's forgeries are fully discussed by P Chaplais in 'The original charters of Herbert and Gervase, abbots of Westminster (1121-1157)', in P M Barnes and C F Slade, eds, A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton (Pipe Roll Soc n.s.xxxvi 1962 for 1960), 89-110.
4. According to Domesday (DB ii, f 53b), MarksHall was held in 1086 by Gudmund (103) as 73 geld acres.
5. For the identification of Geddesduna in Chafford Hundred see W R Powell, 'Essex Domesday Topography since 1903: Place Name identifications and Problems', EAH forthcoming, and VCH Ex vii, 99 and 176.

	Diplomas	Estates	1066
969	(ECE 22; ASCh 774) Confirmation by Edgar Forged by Osbert	East & West Ham Wennington Fanton Hall	see a. below see d. below
998	(ECE 32; ASCh 1522) Will of Leofwine Genuine	Kelvedon Marks Hall	see c. below
1042 x 1044	(ECE 50; ASCh 1117) Donation of AElsere, Swearte, & AElfgyth Doubtful authenticity	Wennington (4 h)	see b. below
1042 x 1044	(ECE 51; ASCh 1118) Donation of AEthelric and Gode Probably spurious	Kelvedon Hatch[1]	
1052 x 1053	(ECE 65; ASCh 1128) Confirmation of Leofcild's bequest Probably based on an authentic writ	Moulsham	see e. below
1065	(ECE 68; ASCh 1043, ECE 70; ASCh 1039) Confirmation by Edward Forged by Osbert; spurious	East & West Ham (2 h) Wennington (4 h) Kelvedon (5 h) Fanton Hall (4 h) Moulsham Kelvedon Hatch Maplestead Kelvedon Rayne Latchingdon Wanstead Leyton Paglesham	a. 2 h (f 14b) b. 2½ h (f 15) c. 5 h (f 14) d. 4 h 30a (f 14) e. 5 h-30a (f 15) ?f. 1½ h (f 15)
1069	(ECE 69; ASCh 1040) Confirmation by Edward Forged by Osbert	Bowers Gifford Lt Fanton Geddesdoune	?g. 50 a (f 14) ?h. 1 h (f 15)

TABLE 11 Pre-Conquest diplomas of Westminster Abbey relating to Essex estates.

Note

1. In 1066 there were three estates in Kelvedon Hatch, held by AEdelric (25) - 2 hides, DB ii f 14b; Algar (2) - 80 acres, ibid f 24b; and Leofgifu (119) - 1 hides 45 acres, ibid, f 56.

make them a major political force in the shire on the eve of the Norman Conquest.[1]

St Mary's Church

On folio 14 of the Essex Domesday text it is recorded that 8½ hides at South Benfleet held in 1086 by Westminster Abbey and St Martin's-le-Grand had belonged in 1066 to St Mary's Church.[2] Round observed that the St Mary's Church was usually identified as Barking Abbey, 'but it is singular that there is no reference to the loss under the lands of the Abbey. Such an act of spoilation, moreover, would be remarkable.'[3] It is perhaps more likely that since the parish church of South Benfleet is under the invocation of St Mary that the church land recorded was its glebe, although it would have been a very well-endowed church.

Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt has been made to trace the pre-1066 land-holding histories of eight religious institutions in Essex. It has already been demonstrated that the documentary evidence of the acquisition of church estates is by no means complete, and that the survival of pre-Conquest archives varies considerably between institutions.[4] Table 12 on page 142 gives a statistical impression of the completeness of the archives relating to the pre-1066 land-holdings of eight religious institutions in Essex. By comparing

1. For notes on the abbey's demesne estates in Essex throughout the medieval period see Harvey op cit, pp 340-4, page 57 ibid comments on the 1086 income from them.
2. For the estate's history whilst a Westminster property see Harvey op cit, p 340.
3. VCH Ex i, 441 fn 1.
4. Brooks ('The Pre-Conquest Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury') noted (p 234) that although charters and other diplomas were evidence of the acquisition of estates, they are haphazard material for the historian who wants a complete picture of the course of a church's endowment.

Columns 2 and 3 it can be seen that the records of Christ Church, Ely, St Paul's and Waltham are fairly complete. In the case of Barking, as the discussion above showed, although the early centuries of the abbey's history are well documented its acquisitions of land in the later Anglo-Saxon period are poorly recorded outside Domesday. At Westminster the 1130s witnessed a conscious effort to remedy their lack of pre-Conquest documentation on the abbey's estates by the forgery of a number of diplomas.

	Column 1 Number of holdings recorded before 1066	Column 2 Number of holdings of Column 1 total still held in 1066	Column 3 Holdings recorded for the first time in 1066
Barking	8	4	10
Bury	1	1	5
Christ Church	12	6	3
Ely	13	11	1
St Paul's & Bishop of London	22	16	2
St Ouen	1	1	0
Waltham	12	10	1
Westminster	3	2	6
TOTALS	72	51	28

TABLE 12

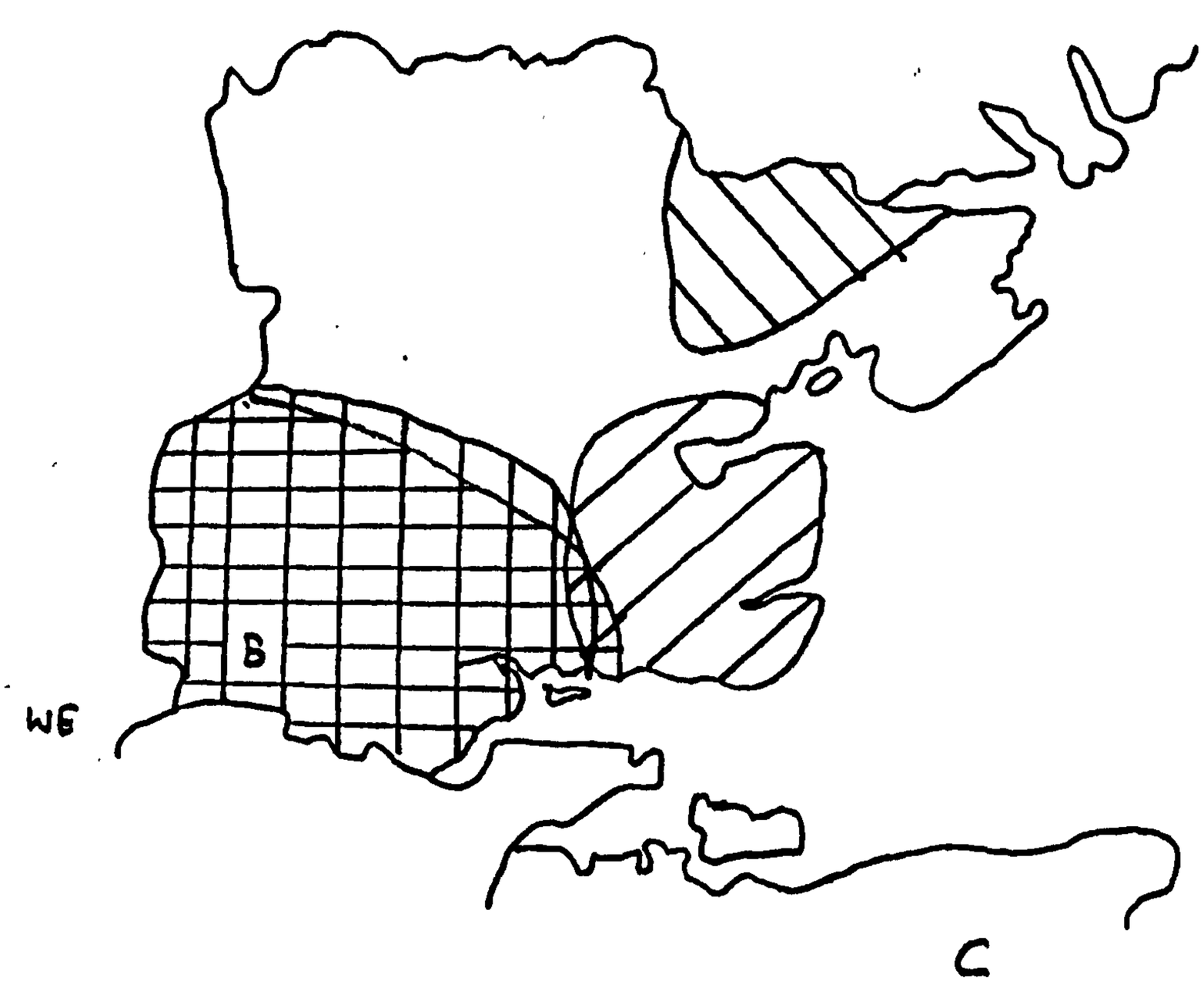
Surviving documentation on pre-Conquest ecclesiastical estates in Essex.

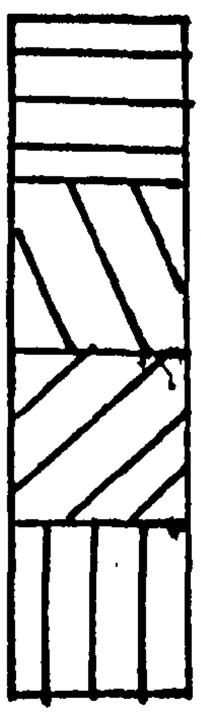
Considering the estates of the ecclesiastical landholders as a whole it can be seen that over a third of their 1066 Manors are not recorded in earlier documents. It is also suggested by comparing Column 2 with Column 1 of Table 12 that some 29% of the holdings recorded before 1066 had apparently been lost by the time of the Norman Conquest. There are grounds for believing that the figures of Column 1 have been inflated by the inclusion of estates that were never possessed by the institutions listed in the table. They include manors mentioned in wills that never passed to the churches for whom they were intended,[1] whilst the lack of other documents similar to the St Paul's 'ship list'[2] makes it difficult to be certain which holdings were actually in the possession of an institution at any given date before 1066. The exaggeration of the Column 1 totals is borne out by the considerable rise between Columns 1 and 3 for the poorly documented houses - Bury, and Westminster. Elsewhere the figures are less favourable, except for Barking, which was apparently actively acquiring estates in the years immediately before the Norman Conquest. Bury and Westminster were probably also doing the same, whilst the Christ Church figures imply a considerable turnover in their Essex holdings during the two and a half centuries before 1066 that they held land in the shire. Even a well-documented institution like St Paul's was recorded in 1066 as holding estates not mentioned in any pre-Conquest sources.

1. See, for example, Hart's comments on Ealdorman AElfgar's attempts to bequeath Peldon and West Mersea to the minster at Stoke-by-Nayland, 'The Mersea Charter of Edward....', 95-7; 'donations' not included in the figures of Table 12. It was unlikely that the bequest would have been acceded to by the king, since it appears that the estates in question were only leased from him; Boyden, 'Mersea before 1046....', 174.
2. ECE No 28, see further above, p 127.

It has already been noted in connection with the estates of Canterbury and Ely[1] that there was a tendency for both institutions to relinquish, either by sale or lease, holdings that were at a distance from the churches. Map 16 (page 138) shows that Waltham's Essex estates were concentrated in the south-western part of the shire, close to the Holy Cross and the canons who served it. A similar trend is also observable in Map 12 (page 104), which shows the location of the estates of Barking Abbey. On Map 17 (pp 145-6) are marked the boundaries of the main concentrations of the Essex estates of 1066 ecclesiastical landholders,[2] and the positions of the churches to which the lands belonged. The lands of Bury Abbey are seen to have been concentrated on the northern boundary of Essex, due south of the abbey; whilst the Westminster Abbey manors were in the south-eastern corner of the shire, near to St Peter's church. Only the extensive lands of the Bishop of London and the canons of St Paul's do not conform absolutely to the norm, in that all of their estates lay in southern and eastern Essex, some at a considerable distance from London.[3]

1. Above, pp 114, and 123. See also Maps 13 (p 113), and 14 (p 124).
2. With the exception of St Mary's Church, and St Ouen's Abbey, Rouen. The estates of the Bishop of London and the canons of St Paul's are treated as a single property.
3. Although travel on land may have been difficult, water transport from the Tendring Hundred manors may have been relatively quick and easy.





B Barking Abbey

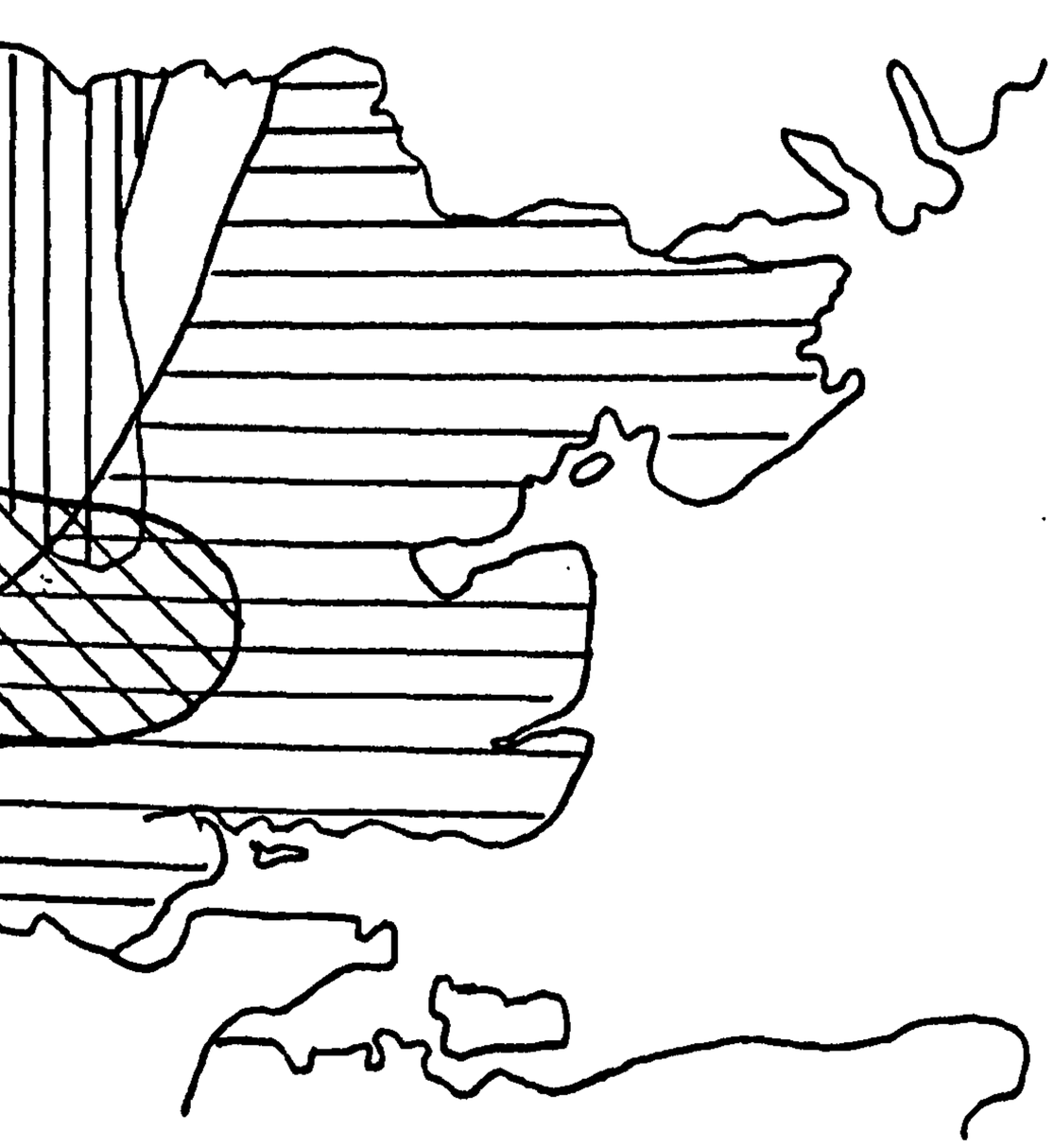
BU St Edmund's Abbey, Bury

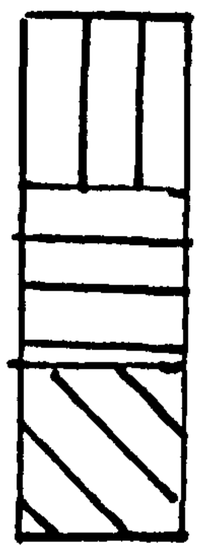
C Christ Church Canterbury

WE Westminster Abbey

MAP 17

Church estates in 1066 Essex





E Ely Abbey

L Bishop of London & St Paul's Cathedral

W Waltham Holy Cross

MAP 17

Church estates in 1066 Essex

Religious institutions required regular, and in some cases considerable, amounts of agricultural produce both for immediate consumption, and to store for future use. This presumably meant that a certain amount of their agricultural capacity had to be close enough to the institution in order that perishable supplies could be delivered without delay or difficulty. Whilst pre-Conquest arrangements are not known in detail, in the later medieval period the estates of some monasteries were divided into two groups. One of these consisted of manors close enough to be able to send food supplies direct to the monks, and the other comprised more distant holdings which rendered a money farm instead.[1] It is likely that there was a similar arrangement at Ely before the Conquest, as the food rent scheme of the reign of Cnut[2], and the leasing policy of their Essex manors suggests. It is also possible that one of the reasons for the changes in the groups of estates held by religious institutions was their need to possess sufficient land within a certain distance of the church. In order to achieve this manors recieved from pious donors had to be exchanged or sold to raise money with which to buy others that were better placed to meet the institution's food requirements.[3]

1. Such an arrangement was formulated at Westminster in 1117 or 1118, and is discussed by Harvey, Westminster Abbey and its estates..., p 140. Similarly, at Christ Church Canterbury in 1285 the priory estates were divided into those that rendered corn, and those that paid cash; R A.L Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory (1943), p 131. The latter system was explained in a letter written in 1323 by Prior Henry of Eastry, which is examined by Smith, ibid, p 132.
2. Dated 1029 x 1035; ECE No 45.
3. Against what has been argued here it is possible to make out a case that religious houses benefitted principally from donations of land by landholders who were local to them. This can however hardly explaing the distribution of either Canterbury's or Ely's Essex holdings, although it might have been of importance in the evolution of those of Barking, St Paul's and Waltham; and to a lesser extent Westminster. Local patronage of religious institutions would probably result in a distribution of estates similar to that shown in Map 17, but although a significant element in land acquisition, it was probably not important enough to dictate the overall distribution of a house's holdings.

The loss of land is by contrast less well documented than its acquisition. For example, the theft by Cnut of the 30 hide manor of Southminster from the Bishop of London is only known from Domesday.[1] The only other documented losses of land before 1066 were those of Ely, which are recorded in the Liber Eliensis.[2] It seems unlikely that the estates of other religious houses did not also suffer at the hands of either rapacious kings or powerful local magnates (or both), but there is no evidence for such depredations. It may be noted that Eynsham Abbey held land in Essex during the eleventh century, but had relinquished it by 1066.[3] There were also a number of Anglo-Saxon minster churches in Essex whose landed wealth had apparently been dispersed by 1066[4]: were St Mary's 8½ hides at South Benfleet the remains of such an establishment's endowment?

What this patchy evidence seems to suggest is that the amount of land held by ecclesiastical establishments in the Anglo-Saxon period was seldom static. Acquisitions by gift, bequest, and purchase were balanced by losses caused by sales, exchanges, and theft. This seems to agree with the hints (derived chiefly from wills) of the landholding patterns of laymen, that there were steady accumulations and dispersals of groups of estates,

1. DB ii, f 10. Layer Marney, mentioned on the same folio, was also returned by the Conqueror, but it is not mentioned in any surviving pre-Conquest documents.
2. As noted above, pp 117-118.
3. ECE No 39; ASCh 911, the foundation charter of Eynsham, mentioned the gift of 10 hides at Lawling. In 1066 14 hides there were held by Christ Church Canterbury; DB ii, f 8. Also Wulfwine (199) granted (ECE No 60) to Ramsey Abbey his estates at Ugley (DB ii, f 76b) and Helion Bumpstead Hall (ibid, f 77), both of which he held in 1066, but by 1086 they had passed to Aubrey de Vere.
4. There is a brief note on Anglo-Saxon Minsters and Monasteries in Essex in W Rodwell, 'Ecclesiastical sites and structures in Essex', in D Buckley (Ed), Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500 (1980), p. 120.

and only a minority of holdings (usually the larger manors in the case of the religious institutions) that remained in common ownership for any period of time.

Chapter 5

Aspects of landholding in late Anglo-Saxon Essex

In this conclusion to the first part of the study information and ideas from the three preceding chapters are drawn together to consider two important aspects of landholding in late Anglo-Saxon Essex. First, the discussion begun in Chapter 3 on the ranking of landholders is extended to include the ecclesiastical institutions considered in Chapter 4, and a rank list of those who held 5 or more Essex estates in 1066 is constructed. Secondly, an attempt is made to reconstruct some of the changes in society and the distribution of wealth that lay behind the landholding structure of the shire on the eve of the Norman invasion.

Ranking of larger landholders

In Chapter 3 it was shown that the number of estates held by an individual was a fairly reliable indicator of the extent of their landed wealth as measured by its geld assessment. It was clear that among lay landholders a division existed between a small number of individuals who held more than four estates, and a much larger number who had fewer than that number.[1] From Chapter 4 it can be seen that eight of the ten religious institutions that held land in Essex had more than four estates each, suggesting that they too should be considered as 'large' landholders.[2] These eight institutions have therefore been included in Table 13 (page 51) with the 20 men and women who held five or more Essex estates in 1066. These landholders are arranged in the table in descending order by the number of their demesne estates. The table also

1. Above, pp 49-51
2. Only St Ouen's Abbey Rouen, and St Mary's Church, each of whom had only one estate, are excluded. For details of their holdings see above, pp 134, and 141 respectively.

Position in table	Landholder	Number of estates held	Total extent (hides)	Average size (hides)
1	Harold (107)	28	190.5	6.8
2	Asgeirr (157)	15	51.5	3.4
3	Sigeweard (157)	14	73	5.2
4	Barking Abbey	13	82	6.3
5	Wulfwine (199)	12	32	2.6
6	Waltham Canons	11	39	3.5
7	St Paul's Cathedral	9	80	8.8
7	Christ Church Canterbury	9	39	2.7
7	AElfgar (28)	9	35.5	3.9
7	Porkell (177)	9	22	2.4
7	Alweard (11)	9	16	1.8
12	Robert fitz Wimarc (147)	8	40	5
12	Queen Edith (60)	8	35.5	4.4
12	Godric (88)	8	22.5	2.8
12	Westminster Abbey	8	21	2.6
16	Ely Abbey	7	62	8.8
16	Bishop of London	7	58	8.3
16	Ingvar (112)	7	37	5.3
16	Wihtgar (183)	7	27	3.8
16	Gudmund (103)	7	21	3
16	Wulfmaer (189)	7	14	2
22	Leofstan (127)	6	16	2.7
22	Bury Abbey	6	15	2.5
22	Leofstan (127)	6	7	1.2
22	Eadgifu the Fair (60)	6	4	0.7
26	AEdelgyd (24)	5	29	5.8
26	Leofcild (117)	5	7	1.4
26	Wulfwine (199)	5	6	1.2

Table 13 Major 1066 Essex landholders ranked by the number of their estates

records for each landholder the total extent (to the nearest half hide) of their estates, and the mean size of their holdings.

In general Table 13 reinforces the conclusion drawn from Table 1 (page 50) that landholders with a large number of estates tended to have more land than those with fewer holdings. The mean number of hides held by the first 14 landholders listed in Table 13 is 54.2, whereas the remaining 13 had on average only 23 hides each. However, the correlation between the number of estates and the amount of land (as represented by its geld assessment) is less close in Table 13 than it is in Table 1, as can be seen in Table 14 (page 153). Here the 28 landholders under consideration are ranked by the extent of their lands, with their positions in Table 13 included for comparison. Whist there is little doubt that whatever the criteria used Harold (107) held the largest amount of Essex land in 1066, and Wulfwine (199) was probably the least significant of those with five estates or more, the rank positions of the remainder varies considerably in the two tables. For example, the small number of estates held in demesne by the Abbey of Ely, and the Bishop of London, placed them 16th equal in Table 13, but the large average size of their manors put them in 5th and 6th positions respectively in Table 14. On the other hand, the small average size of Alweard's (11) holdings placed him 7th equal in Table 13 and 21st equal in Table 14.

The disturbance of the pattern revealed in Table 1 is probably caused by the high geld assessments of the ecclesiastical estates. For example, although both Ely Abbey and Wihtgar (183) each held seven demesne estates, the average size of the monks' holdings was more than twice that of one of Wihtgar's. In order to

		Position in Table 13
Harold (107)	1	1
Barking Abbey	2	4
St Paul's Cathedral	3	7
Sigeweard	4	3
Ely Abbey	5	16
Bishop of London	6	16
Asgeirr (20)	7	2
Robert fitz Wimarc (147)	8	12
Waltham Canons	9	6
Christ Church Canterbury	9	7
Ingvar (112)	11	16
AElfgar (28)	12	7
Queen Eadgifu (60)	12	12
Wulfwine (199)	14	5
AEdelgyd (24)	15	26
Wihtgar (183)	16	16
Godric (88)	17	12
Porkell (177)	18	7
Westminster Abbey	19	12
Gudmund	19	16
Alweard (11)	21	7
Leofstan (127)	21	22
Bury Abbey	23	22
Wulfmaer (189)	24	16
Leofstan (127)	25	22
Leofcild (117)	25	26
Wulfwine (199)	27	26
Eadgifu the Fair (60)	28	22

Table 14 Major 1066 Essex landholders ranked by the extent of their estates.

produce a meaningful rank list of ecclesiastical and lay landholders it is necessary to take account of both the extent and the number of their estates. This has been done in Table 15 (page 155), where the landholders are arranged in descending order by the means of their positions in Tables 13 and 14.

Table 15 clearly demonstrates that religious institutions were important landholders, since six of the eight listed occupy its first twelve places. Knowles calculated that in 1086 the 35 English Benedictine houses received one sixth of the country's land-derived revenue, although interestingly enough the richest houses nationally do not figure very prominently in Essex.[1] Considering the relationship between the leading lay and ecclesiastical landholders in more detail, it can be seen that both Sigeweard (157) and Asgeirr (20) ranked above the Canons of St Paul's, but were all three below Barking Abbey, the next most important entity in the shire after the King.[2] The Bishop of London ranked some way after his cathedral, and was exceeded in influence by the newly-founded house at Waltham. Rober fitz Wimarc (147) was the sixth most powerful layman, whose influence in the shire exceeded that of its diocesan. The relatively poor showing of Westminster and Bury Abbeys underlines the predominance of local religious houses as major holders of land in Essex. The anomalous position of Ely is to be explained by the affection shown to the Abbey by Brihtnoth and his family[3], while their relative positions

1. D Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (2nd edn 1963), pp 100-103. Ely was the second wealthiest, with lands to the annual value of £768. Of other rich houses with land in Essex, Bury's estates were worth an annual total of £638, Christ Church Canterbury's £688, and Westminster's £584.
2. The importance of Barking's landed wealth in Essex gives added support to the view advanced above, p 141, that the land at Benfleet which belonged to St Mary's Church was not a property of the nuns.
3. As mentioned above, p116 ff.

1. Harold (107)
2. Barking Abbey
3. Sigeweard (157)
4. Asgeirr (20)
5. St Paul's Cathedral
6. Waltham Canons
7. Christ Church Canterbury
8. AElfgar (28)
9. Wulfwine (199)
10. Robert fitz Wimarc (147)
11. Ely Abbey
12. Bishop of London
13. Queen Eadgifu (60)
14. Porkell (177)
15. Ingvar (112)
16. Alweard (11)
17. Godric (88)
18. Westminster Abbey
19. Wihtgar (183)
20. Gudmund (103)
21. Wulfmaer (189)
22. AEdelgyd (24)
23. Leofstan (127)
24. Bury Abbey
25. Leofstan (127)
26. Eadgifu The Fair (60)
27. Leofcild (117)
28. Wulfwine (199)

Table 15 Major 1066 Essex landholders ranked by the mean of their positions in Tables 13 and 14.

in Table 15 may explain why Asgeirr (20) was able to 'invade' the abbey's Easter estate.[1]

With the exception of St Ouen's lordship of the hundred of Winstree it is not certain that any other church possessed the lordship of an Essex hundred. Although the holdings of ecclesiastical institutions were to be found in all parts of the shire, there were concentrations of church estates in some hundreds. In Tendring the Canons of St Paul's and the Bishop of London held between them one sixth of the hundred's hidage,[2] whilst the location of Waltham's holdings in the south west of the shire has already been referred to.[3] Further north, a third of Ely's Essex estates lay within the hundred of Dunmow, although four of the seven were let.[4] There were also similar concentrations of lay holdings,[5] and it is likely that the administration of estates was similar whether they were held by laymen or church institutions.[6] To the men who laboured on the demesnes it probably mattered little whether their lord was the Abbot of Ely or Asgeirr the Staller.

1. As described above, p 63 f.
2. They had in demesne 54 of the 218 hides in the hundred. Taylor, 'Estates of the Bishopric of London', p 101, noted that by 1066 the Bishops of London had failed to acquire the lordship of any hundred in the shires in which they held land.
3. Above, p 137.
4. For the distribution of Ely's estates in Essex see Map 14, p 124.
5. Some of which were described in Chapter 3. This subject is returned to in Chapter 7, below.
6. Little appears to be known of the administration of groups of estates in the Anglo-Saxon period. Davies, 'The lands and rights of Harold'(1967), pp 92-93, comments briefly on the organisation of his lands. The duties of the manorial reeve were outlined in Be gesceadwisan gerefan, an eleventh century tract edited by Liebermann, Die Gestze der Angelsachsen i (1903), 453-5, and discussed by P Vinogradoff, The Growth of the Manor (1920), pp 227-9.

The evolution of the pattern of landholding in Essex to 1066

The surviving documents which refer to the tenure of land in Essex during the Anglo-Saxon period give a number of tantalising hints and glimpses of changes in the distribution of landed wealth in the centuries before the Norman invasion. To reconstruct the history of landholding before 1066 it is necessary to combine the evidence from these diplomas with the pre-Conquest data in Domesday Book. Such an analysis is attempted here, from which it appears that three interdependent factors were particularly important in producing the pattern of land tenure that existed in 1066. They were: the steadily diminishing size of the royal lands, the division of large estates into smaller holdings, and an active market in land. These factors received a catalytic influence in the centuries immediately before 1066 when the presence of Viking raiders created the need for weaker members of society to seek the protection of the strong, and accelerated the rate at which large amounts of land were concentrated into a few hands.[1]

Approximately one fifth of the surviving Anglo-Saxon diplomas relating to Essex record the alienation of land by English kings, either by gift, or sale.[2] What purports to be the earliest charter relating to Essex records the gift of Tillingham by King AEthelbert to the Bishop of London for St Paul's. This donation was made between 604 and 616, and was followed by at least ten others in the succeeding 450 years, distributed by centuries as follows:[3]

1. The growth of secular lordship, and the consequent gradual loss of independence by free Anglo-Saxon peasants is outlined by Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp 470 ff.
2. As listed by Hart in ECE. For the purposes of this analysis it has been assumed that all of the diplomas listed by him record transactions at the apparent dates of the documents and relate to land in Essex.
3. For Tillingham see ECE No 1. Since the majority of these grants and sales have already been commented upon in Chapter 4 they are only listed here by Hart's numbers. Seventh century: ECE Nos 1 and 2; eighth century: No 7; ninth century: No 9; tenth century: Nos 12,14,15,19, and 21; eleventh century: Nos 36,37,41 (sale), and 63.

seventh century	2 grants	2 estates
eighth century	1 grant	1 estate
ninth century	1 sale	1 estate
tenth century	5 grants	5 estates
eleventh century to 1066	(3 grants ((1 sale	3 estates 2 Essex estates and 1 in Cambs

These figures relate only to known grants, but the comparatively large increase in their number during the century and a half before 1066 may be significant.[1]

1. It can be argued that originally the number of alienations per century was more or less constant, and that this distribution is the result of many older texts having failed to survive into the modern era. The distribution shown in the table does not however support this view.

Although there were accretions from forfeitures, they can hardly have compensated fully for the losses from the royal estate resulting from sales and gifts.[1] According to the diplomas land was disposed of for a variety of reasons, including piety,[2] to reward faithful servants,[3] and to produce ready cash.[4] Notwithstanding these extensive grants over the centuries, Table 13 (page 151) shows that in 1066 Harold had considerably more Essex land, whether measured by its assessment or the number of his estates, than the most powerful lay and ecclesiastical landholders.[4a]

All but two of the surviving pre-Conquest royal charters granting land in Essex were in favour of religious communities or bishops.[5] The increased number of donations to the church that occurred between 946 and 1008 is probably to be ascribed to the monastic revival of the tenth century.[6] However, after the sale of Hadstock, Stretley Green, and Linton (Cambs) to Ely Abbey in 1008, the only other known pre-Conquest alienation of Essex land to the church was Edward's gift of Mersea to St Ouen in 1046.[7]

1. The only forfeiture listed by Hart is ECE No 42 of 1012, and relates to the estates of AEthelflaed, sister of the banished Ealdorman Leofsige. However, the only estate in Essex known to have been affected by this action was one at Laver; see further ASW No xxii, and the notes to it on pp 175-6. It is unlikely that forfeitures did much to restore the diminishing extent of the pre-Conquest crown lands, when compared with the situation in the post-Conquest feudal world: R S Hoyt, The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066-1272 (1950), pp 6-7.
2. For example, AEthelred's gift of Littlebury to Ely in 1004, ECE No 36.
3. ECE No 19, Edgar's gift of Vange to the thegn Ingeram, in 963, may be cited as an example of this type of alienation.
4. Edgar's sale of Navestock to St Paul's for 60 gold mancuses was probably prompted by the need for money, ECE No 9. The only other recorded pre-Conquest royal land sale in Essex, that of three estates to Ely by AEthelred in 1008 (ECE No 41), was probably undertaken for similar reasons; see further above, pp 116-117.

4a The predominant place of the royal lands in the financial resources of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy is revealed by P A Stafford in her unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis 'Royal Government in the reign of AEthelred II A.D. 979-1016' (1973), pp 169-214. In 1066 the royal estates produced c £7000 per annum.

5. The exceptions are Edgar's grant of Hamme to AEthelstan in 958 (ECE No 15), and Edgar's gift to Ingeram (ibid, No 19). The surviving documentation on grants to laymen is generally much less full than that referring to religious institutions.
6. For the background see Knowles, Monastic Order, pp 31-56, and in more detail D Parsons (Ed), Tenth Century Studies, Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia (1975).
7. Respectively ECE Nos 41, and 63, already discussed.

This gift seems to have been against the trend of eleventh century practice, since Waltham, Westminster, and Bury, which were either founded or came to prominance in this period, did not receive any grants of Essex land from the royal estates. This might suggest that earlier alienations restricted the ability of eleventh century kings to endow churches with land. However, a more likely explanation is that during the eleventh century, and possibly earlier, much more land was being given to laymen than to churches.[1]

The importance of being able to identify amongst the holdings of laymen and church institutions estates granted to them from royal lands is self-evident, and it is fortunate that they can be found easily in the Domesday text. In 1086 King William held a number of large manors which in 1066 were the property of Harold.[2] They were frequently assessed at round (and sometimes considerable) numbers of hides,[3] had dependent berewicks,[4] and attached sokeland.[5] Brightlingsea, for example, was not hidated in 1066, but rendered two night's farm instead, thus attesting to its antiquity as a royal possession.[6] It is likely that these large estates, with their not necessarily contiguous appendages, had been the normal type of economic unit in the earliest Saxon period.[6a] Moreover, holdings of this type were apparently mentioned in pre-Conquest charters - for example the 40 cassatae at Berecingas et Beddanhaam, 10 manentes called Celta, 15 mansiones at Navestock, and the 10 hides at Lawling.[7] In 1066 manors of this type were held not only by the king, but also by church institutions, and laymen.

1. The use of land grants for political purposes by successive Anglo-Saxon kings in the tenth and early eleventh centuries is considered by P A Stafford in 'The Reign of AEthelred II, a study in the limitations on royal policy and action', in D Hill (Ed), Ethelred the Unready (1978), 15-46. It is there argued that 'the power of the late tenth century nobility was largely a royal creation' (p 17).

2. They are listed in Harold's entry in the Appendix at the end of the study.
3. For example, Hatfield Broad Oak, 20 hides (DB ii, f 2); Havering, 10 hides (ibid, f 2b); and Writtle, 16 hides (ibid, f 5).
4. Stanway had a berewick in neighbouring Lexden (DB ii, f 4b), whilst Hatfield had three in Hertfordshire (ibid, f 2); and Brightlingsea one in Suffolk (ibid, f 6).
5. That of both Witham (DB ii, f 1b), and Lawford (ibid, f 6) was extensive.
6. DB ii, f 6. A valuable discussion of the firma unius noctis is to be found in J H Round's Feudal England (1895), pp 109-115. A more recent study is P A Stafford's 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organisation of King Edward's Estates in Domesday', Economic History Review 2nd ser xxxiii (1980), 491-502, which disregards the Essex estates assessed in this way, perhaps because none of them were held in 1066 by Edward.

6a. Such was Stenton's view, Anglo-Saxon England, pp 482-3, although his idea that parts of royal manors had been detached and alienated is not followed here.

7. Described respectively in ECE No 2 of c666, No 3 of c687, No 9 of 867, and No 39 of 1005. Unfortunately none of the Essex estates whose extents were recorded in pre-Conquest diplomas had the same assessment in 1066.

In Table 16 (page 164) the 28 leading landholders (ie those who each held more than five estates) of 1066 Essex are ranked in descending order by the mean size of their demesne estates. Their position in the table is determined by both the number of their estates, and their size. Landholders whose holdings consisted chiefly of small estates rank lower than those whose land in Essex was based on a group of large estates acquired from the royal lands . Since the larger holdings were derived direct from the crown, it suggests that the higher the mean size of their estates, the more a landholder was in favour with the king.[1] At the top of the list came the canons of St Paul's, the monks of Ely Abbey, and the Bishop of London. As Table 9 (page 132-3) shows, in 1066 the canons and Bishop had a number of estates which are known from pre-Conquest charters to have been given to them by the crown, and others which although documentary proof is lacking, almost certainly came from the same source. The evidence from Ely (Table 8, pages 114ff) is a little more complex in that whilst the monks had received estates from the crown, they also held large manors of a type similar to those of the royal lands which had been given to them by laymen - who are likely to have acquired them from the king. This rider introduces the need for caution in evaluating Table 16, although it is a factor which is more relevant to ecclesiastical estates than to the holdings of laymen, given the powerful role of the crown in the creation of the late Anglo-Saxon nobility.

1. As will be seen, in the case of laymen the relationship to the crown would refer to conditions in 1066, although with ecclesiastical institutions it might reflect an affection for the house shown by a king several centuries before.

Mean estate size (hides)	
8.8	St Paul's Cathedral; Ely Abbey
8.3	Bishop of London
6.8	Harold (107)
6.3	Barking Abbey
5.8	AEdelgyd (24)
5.3	Ingvar (112)
5.2	Sigeweard (157)
5	Robert fitz Wimarc (147)
4.4	Queen Eadgifu (60)
3.9	AElfgar (28)
3.8	Wihtgar (183)
3.5	Waltham Canons
3.4	Asgeirr (20)
3	Gudmund (103)
2.8	Godric (88)
2.7	Christ Church Canterbury; Leofstan (127)
2.6	Westminster Abbey; Wulfwine (199)
2.5	Bury Abbey
2.4	Porkell (177)
2	Wulfmaer (189)
1.8	Alweard (11)
1.4	Leofcild (117)
1.2	Leofstan (127); Wulfwine (199)
0.7	Eadgifu The Fair (60)

Table 16 Major 1066 Essex landholders ranked by the mean size of their demesne estates

The laymen of Table 16 are headed by King Harold (107), followed by AEdelgyd (24), and Ingvar (112). AEdelgyd (24) had amongst her five manors the extensive one of Henham, and another of eight hides at Wimbish, which had presumably belonged to her husband.[1] Ingvar's (112) holdings were too scattered to bring him any direct political power in Essex, but they included the 10 hide manor of Great Burstead, a nine hide estate at Mountnessing (?), and two others assessed at six hides each.[2] Someone whose political power was more obvious, as Chapter 7 will reveal, was Sigeweard of Maldon (157). He held at least three estates which were probably gifts from the royal lands - Debden (16½ hides), Down Hall (14 hides), and Stangate (9½ hides).[3] Sigeweard ranked immediately above Robert fitz Wimarc (147), who is known to have been favoured by the Confessor. Amongst his lands were the 15 hide manor of Clavering, and the smaller (at 5½ hides) manor of Eiland, which with its four hides held by 36 freemen had also probably been a royal manor until recent times.[4] In addition to a number of smaller holdings AElfgar had several estates which were probably ancient royal manors, and perhaps held by him ex officio as earl. Three of them were held in 1086 by William, and included the 10 hide manor of Great Chesterford. Two of his other holdings, with an aggregate assessment of 13 hides, had passed by 1086 to Holy Trinity Caen.[5] As the mean estate size falls in Table 16, so the former royal manors become fewer amongst the possessions of the landholders

1. See above, p 49, and Appendix. Henham (DB ii, f 71) was assessed at 10 geld acres short of 13½ hides. Wimbish is described ibid, f 69b; in 1086 each of these estates were valued at £20.
2. Great Burstead is described on f 22b of DB ii. The Ginga (Mountnessing) estate had a freeman with 20 acres attached to it. The six hide manors were at Chreshall (DB ii, f 33) and Roydon (ibid, f 80) - which had 4 hides of sokeland, and a berewick in Harlow.
3. Described respectively on ff 73b, and 74b bis of DB ii. For a survey of Sigeweard's estates see above, p 83 ff.
4. For Clavering see above, p 79, and DB ii, f 46b. Eiland is described ibid f 47.
5. AElfgar's estates are detailed in the Appendix. For Great Chesterford see f 3b of DB ii. The two manors held by the Norman church were Felstead, and Great Baddow (ibid, f 21b bis). In 1066 Baddow rendered 8 night's farm, which strongly suggests that the estate was a royal one.

in its lower reaches. Wihtgar's (183) 9½ hides at Thaxted looks like one, and Asgeirr's (20) 19½ hide estate at Saffron Walden must have been a gift from Edward or Harold. His 8 hides at Great Waltham may have come from the same source.[1] In concluding these remarks it is interesting to compare the estates of the two Eadgifus (60). Those of the Confessor's queen included two - Little Chesterford, and Great Sampford[2] which could have been ancient royal manors. In contrast the holdings of Eadgifu The Fair consisted of small estates that were presumably acquired on the open market, and included none in Essex which were obviously given to her by Harold from the royal lands.

The shortage of documentary evidence makes models of pre-1066 land tenure by laymen difficult to construct. However, if the larger estates mentioned were derived from the royal lands by their 1066 occupants, and if it can be shown that there was a general tendency for large estates to be divided into a number of smaller ones, the relative mean sizes of laymen's estates may prove to be a useful indicator of their standing at court, in the discussion in Chapter 7 of the relationship between landed wealth and public administration.

It has already been stated, and in the preceding analysis assumed to be the case, that large, formerly royal manors, did not remain intact for long once they passed on to the land market. Strong circumstantial evidence for this view is to be found in the fact

1. Thaxted, DB ii, f 38b; Saffron Walden, ibid f 62; Great Waltham, ibid f 58. All but the latter had extensive appendages.
2. Described on DB ii, f 87, and 7b, respectively.

that in 1066 these large manors were for the most part in the hands of the king, religious institutions who are known to have held them in some cases for many years, and (a few each) certain laymen. The generally small sizes of the estates of unknown origin held by the church in 1066, and which are presumed to have been purchased from laymen, supports the view that large holdings were not generally available. It is surely more than a coincidence that Bury Abbey, the canons of Waltham Holy Cross, and Westminster Abbey, none of whom had received any Essex land from the crown, held none of these large estates in the shire in 1066, and in consequence had low mean estate sizes (Table 16).[1]

Specific examples of the division of Essex estates are not however numerous. The most striking is the fate of Laver, which was not in fact a very extensive holding. In AEthelflaed's will of the early eleventh century the manor there was assessed at four hides.[2] However, by 1066 it had been divided into five estates, two each of one and a third hides, one assessed at two thirds of a hide, and two more of a third of a hide each.[3] An even more complex situation resulted from the division of four mansiones of land, a church, and four hides in Greenstead, between his four sons on the death of Godric of Colchester (89).

1. For details see above, pp 105-6 (Bury), and Tables 10 (p136) Waltham, and 11 (p 140) Westminster. An interesting collection of smaller estates were acquired by Barking Abbey before the Conquest, and are detailed in Table 6 (p.103), above.
2. ECE No 37 ASW No xxii of c1004 x 1012; see also the comments above, p 159, on the forfeiture of AEthelflaed's estates, ECE No 42.
3. DB ii, ff 30b and 31, commented upon by Hart in his notes to ECE No 37. By 1086 all but 40 acres had been acquired by Eustace of Boulogne, and was valued at £20, which suggests beneficial hidation of the original estate.

This event probably occurred after the Conquest, and by 1086 his property was held by a variety of Normans.[1] The simplest division of an Essex estate was probably the sharing by Algar (2) with his brother Alweard (11) of the five-hide estate at Lammarsh, which was left to them by their father before the Conquest. Algar held 3½ hides, and his brother 1½, although subsequently the two holdings were reunited, and held in 1086 by Ranulf Peverel.[2]

An extensive manor which remained in ecclesiastical ownership was not necessarily immune from depletion. Either by lease, or seizure the monks of Ely had lost 3½ of the 20 hides of their manor at Rettendon;[3] whilst the decision of the St Paul's canons to lease part of the manor of Eadwulfesness to Engelric (75) resulted in their losing it to Eustace of Boulogne during the redistribution of estates after the Conquest.[4]

In Chapter 3 it was concluded that the group of estates accumulated by an Anglo-Saxon landholder would be dispersed on his death.[5] The division of assets between the beneficiaries of a will might have involved splitting up a large manor, along the lines of the partition of Godric's lands in Colchester. Whilst the provision for heirs may account for some of the breaking up of large holdings it does not explain the losses of parts of ecclesiastical estates,

1. DB ii, f 104.
2. DB ii, f 74, 74b. Round (VCH Ex i, 530 fn 2) noted that the division was into portions of roughly 2/3, and ⅓ of the original holding. The reunification of the two parts before 1066 would have been a very unusual occurrence, but was more common after the Conquest, as noted by R W Finn, The Domesday Inquest (1961), pp 11-12.
3. The 3½ hides claimed in 1086 are described on ff 19, 51, and 75 of DB ii. See also above, p 122.
4. The estate in question was the manor of Bircho, assessed at 3 hides (DB ii, f 32b), and entirely surrounded by the 27 hides of the Canons' manor (and soke) of Eadwulfesness (ibid, f 13b).
5. Above, p 78.

nor, necessarily, the division of Laver.[1] The decision of churches to lease parts of their estates must have been made for economic reasons, and suggests that either they could receive more from a farmer than by exploiting the land themselves, or preferred to have a cash income rather than one of crops. In either case there had to be sufficient competition from would-be farmers to make leasing an attractive proposition.

The leasing of estates by religious institutions in England is first recorded in surviving documents dating from the first half of the eighth century.[2] The normal term of a lease was for three lives, but it has been suggested that by the time of the Norman Conquest 'leases for terms of one life were more common than those for longer periods'.[3] The terms of the surviving leases granted by bishops and churches between 934 and 1000, and 1000 and 1066 may be tabulated as follows:[4]

	934-1000		1000-1066	
At Will	0		1	
1 life	3	(3.79%)	5	(20.8%)
2 lives	5	(6.32%)	3	(12.5%)
3 lives	70	(88.6%)	15	(62.5%)
4 lives	1		0	

Allowing for the considerable difference in the number of leases extant for the two 66-year periods, and the distortions caused by

1. The division of estates generally is considered by P H Sawyer in 'Conquest and Colonisation: Scandinavians in the Danelaw and Normandy', in H B Nielson et al (Eds) Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress, Arhus 24-31 August 1977 (1981), pp 125-129.
2. The earliest listed by Sawyer in ASCh is No 1254 of 718 x 745, the lease of land in Gloucestershire to Leppa by Bishop Wilfred of the Hwicce.
3. H R Loyn, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest (1970 edn), p 178.
4. These statistics have been compiled from ASCh. Leases of 943-1000 are listed within Nos 1290-1382; and those of 1000-1066 are to be found within the range Nos 1383-1428.

the large number granted by Oswald in the tenth century,[1] these figures do suggest that whilst there might have been some movement towards shorter leases, the eleventh century norm was still that of three lives. This fact is of significance in attempting to assess the rate at which land values were rising, and hence the vitality of the contemporary land market. If prices were rising steeply landowners would have maximised their income by granting short leases, therey allowing them to increase rents at regular intervals. Longer leases suggest an unspectacular rate of increase in land values, with less than fierce competition amongst would-be tenants.

The principal evidence for the sale of land before the Conquest comes from the will of Bishop AElfric of East Anglia. In his will, made between 1035 or 1037 and 1040, he left instructions that estates at Walsingham and Fersfield were to be sold as dearly as possibly, and the proceeds paid out according to his directions.[2] This demand that the best possible price be obtained for the estates implies the existence of competition to buy land. It is possible to obtain some idea of contemporary land values from another clause of his will in which he stated that Bury Abbey was to pay £60 for two more of his Norfolk estates, Titchwell, and Docking.[3] If land prices were high, which is what this clause suggests, it could well explain the division of large estates that has already been discussed. These extensive manors may have been divided not only to provide for heirs, but also because they would have been too expensive to purchase.

1. For the background see above, Chapter 2. Oswald's leases are ASCh Nos 1297-1375.
2. ASW No xxvi; ASCh No 1489. Bequests of cash amounted to £64, and 4 marks of gold.
3. In Domesday there are description of three estates named Titchwell, and two called Docking. One of those at Docking

(DB ii, f 245b) was held in 1066 by one AElfric under Stigand. It was worth then 20/-, rendered 5/-, 2½d geld, and measured one league by half a league. Whether this holding is to be identified as the one mentioned in the bishop's will is open to question; in 1086 it was held by Eudo. None of the other holdings - Docking, DB ii, f 143; Titchwell, ibid, ff 109b, 183, and 215b - had any associations with either an AElfric, or Bury Abbey.

Conclusion

A general picture of the state of the market in land on the eve of the Norman invasion has to be pieced together from the scattered fragments which have just been discussed. The evidence suggests that although land was expensive and probably increasing in price, the rate of increase was steady rather than spectacular. Rising prices resulted in part from the competition for holdings amongst the larger landholders, who wished to extend their influence beyond the bounds of the large estates which they had acquired from the royal lands. Competition amongst smaller landholders may too have helped to keep land values rising. The division of property between heirs created a growing number of individuals holding small amounts of land. Those who wished to increase the number of their holdings had to compete not only with others in a similar position to themselves, but also with the more powerful landholders. Those with insufficient capital to buy land outright leased it from the church, whose institutions were keen to have money in order to purchase more estates for themselves. Within this model there is an inbuilt tendency for the gap between the 'large' and 'small' landholders to become wider, and such a divide between the two groups is clearly seen in Table 1 (page 50).

By 1066 the royal estates in Essex had shrunk to the point where it would have been difficult to alienate much more land without endangering the crown's position as leading landholder in the shire. Unless the older religious institutions began to liquidate some of their assets, the amount of land on the market had reached its maximum extent. Provided that demand for land remained at a high level, such circumstances could only result in still higher prices, and the widening of the gap between those with a lot of land, and those who had only a little.

Not only did the rich become richer and the poor poorer, but also the ability to transfer from the latter group to the former became harder. The only means by which an individual or institution could become a major landholder was by the possession of ancient royal manors. They were acquired as a result of influence and connections at court: it took more than money to become one of the leading figures in Essex during the late Anglo-Saxon period.[1]

1. Compare Loyn's comment (Anglo-Saxon England, p 180) - 'It was no easy task, even late in Anglo-Saxon England, to build up a great landed inheritance'. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say 'particularly' rather than 'even'. Stafford remarked that land changed hands rapidly, and was valuable enough to be squabbled over. No amount was too small to be overlooked - 'Royal Government in the reign of AEthelred II', p 356.

Chapter 6

Hundreds and Burhs in Anglo-Saxon England

Introduction

The second part (Chapters 6 to 9) of this study is an investigation of local administration in Essex between its conquest by Edward the Elder, and the Norman invasion. In Chapters 7, and 8 the pre-Conquest histories of the Essex hundreds, and burhs are respectively analysed, while Chapter 9 contains a study of private lordship in the shire.[1]

It was seen in the three preceding chapters that Domesday Book contains a considerable amount of information on landholding in Essex on the eve of the Norman invasion, and that seventy charters and other documents enable the histories of some estates to be traced back to the seventh century. Similarly, Domesday is also the best single source of data on the late Saxon hundreds and burhs of Essex. Indeed, it is the only source of information on the hundreds, although as Chapter 8 will demonstrate, the Domesday descriptions of the shire's burhs can be supplemented by evidence from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, coins, and archaeology. Using information derived from these very different sources it is possible to reconstruct the histories of these institutions, and examine their role in the royal governance of Essex. In order that these developments may be seen in their national context it is the purpose of this chapter to consider the development of hundreds and burhs through the study of Anglo-Saxon law codes and other sources.

1. The central administration of the kingdom of the East Saxons and the shire of Essex was considered in Chapter 1.

Hundreds[1]

The first of the Anglo-Saxon laws to refer to the hundred by name was the mid-tenth century code Hundredgemot, or 'The Hundred Ordinance'.[2] It stated that the hundred was to assemble every four weeks, and that 'each man was to do justice to another'[3]. If the need was urgent the hundredesmen could call upon the men over the tithings (teodingmannum)[4], and they were to set off in pursuit of a thief, who was to be punished according to an earlier decree issued by King Edmund. The value of the stolen property was to be 'given to him who owns the cattle' ("sylle mon þaet ceapgyld ðam ðe þaet yrfe age"), and the rest was to be divided between the hundred and the lord. A scale of penalties was established for those who disregarded the decisions of the hundred and after four such occurrences the offender was to be declared an outlaw and to forfeit all that he owned, (Cl 3, 3.1). The keeping of strange cattle (uncudum yfre) was forbidden unless the man who held it had the witness of the man in charge of the hundred or tithing (Cl 4,4.1). The next clauses

1. The basic modern study of the pre-Conquest hundred is H R Loyn, 'The Hundred in England in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries', in H Hearder & H R Loyn (eds) British Government and Administration (1974), pp 1-15. Also of importance are pp 140-148 of H R Loyn, The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1087 (1984), and for a broader view chronologically, H M Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls (repr 1963). Her comments on the hundred and its relationship to Carolingian local administration are also instructive, Local Government in Francia and England (1912), pp 59-62. The numbering of Anglo-Saxon law codes in this study follows that of F Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen i (1903), and references are made to his edition, and the translations in EHD i, The editions of F L Attenborough, The Laws of the Earliest English Kings (1922), and A J Robertson, The Laws of the English Kings from Edmund to Henry I (1925), have also been consulted.
2. Liebermann, op cit, 192-195; EHD i, No 39, 429-430, where the code is dated to 939-c961.
3. Cl 1 "& wyrce ælc man oðrum riht".
4. These are documented below, p 179.

(5,5.1, 6,6.1) related to the pursuit of a thief into another hundred, and laid down penalties for aiding thieves, and failing to join in their pursuit. The code closed with the demand that all suits of common law (folcriht) should be enjoined, and a day appointed for them to be carried out (Cl 7). Those who failed to appear on the appointed day were to pay 30 shillings compensation (Cl.7.1)[1].

Although [illegible] not previously recorded by that name, it is clear from the Hundred Ordinance that hundreds had been in existence for some time before it was issued. The code implies that the country was divided into hundreds with fixed boundaries, and each hundred was administered by a hundredman. Their courts were already a well-established feature of the judicial system[2] where justice was dispensed, and whose judgements the king expected to be obeyed. In addition to the areal hundred, and its synonymous court, there was also another institution within it, that of the tithing, of which more will be said later.

It seems likely that the creation of the hundred, in fact if not in name, was the work of Edward the Elder.[3] As successful campaigning extended his authority beyond Wessex, and into West Mercia, and over the Danish armies in the east, there was a need to establish a general peace throughout his kingdom. In his second law code issued at Exeter in 924-925, he ordered his reeves to hold a meeting (gemot) every four weeks where they

1. The final two clauses, 8 and 9, relating to the value of a cow's bell and other items (8), and the weight of the iron for the three-fold ordeal (9), clearly do not belong to the code, as noted in EHD i, 430 fn 4.
2. Note in Cl 7, "On hundrede swa on oðer gemote...".
3. Loyn, 'The Hundred...', pp 3-4.

were to see that every man was worthy of his folkright, and ensure that each suit was to have a day appointed for its settlement.[1] It seems likely that these four-weekly meetings were the predecessors of the hundred courts of the Hundredgemot. The reeves were presumably the bailiffs of royal manors, and their judicial and administrative history can be traced back at least a century and a half before the 920s. In the laws of Alfred, Edward's father, there are references to the king's reeve holding public meetings, and of the presence of prisons on royal estates.[2] The use by successive Anglo-Saxon kings of their reeves, and the royal manors they oversaw, for administrative purposes is dramatically illustrated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle account of the first arrival of the Vikings in England in 789. The annal recounts how the reeve rode to meet the Scandinavians and tried to force them to come to the King's residence since he did not know who they were, but they killed him.[3] Close connections continued to exist between hundreds and some royal manors throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond, but the implications of the Hundred Ordinance is that by the mid-tenth century the position of hundredman was not held by the royal reeve.

1. II Edward, Liebermann, op cit, i, 140-145 Cl 8 "Ic wille, þaet aelc gerefa hæbbe gemot a ymbe feower wucan; & gedon, ðaet aelce man sy folcrihtes wyrde, & ðaet aelc spræc hæbbe ende & andagan, hwænne hit forðcume."
2. Alfred's code is dated c885-889 by Whitelock, EHD i No 33, 407-416; and 871 (nach 890)-901 by Liebermann, op cit, i, 46-88. The relevant clauses are 22, which states "Gif mon on folces gemote cyninges gerefan geyppe eofot...", and 1.2 which mentions the "Carcerne on cyninges tune", and 1.3 which ordained that "Gif he mægas næbbe oððe þone mete nærebbe, fede cyninges gerefa hine."
3. C Plummer, (ed) Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, i (1892), 54 - "on his dagum cuomon aerest iii scipu, þa se gerefa þaerto rad, & hie wolde drifan to þaes cyninges tune þy he nyste hwaet hie waeron; hiene mon ofslog".

Not only did the word hundred refer to both a territorial area, and its court, it was also the name given to groups of ten of the tithings that feature in the arrangements for the pursuit of thieves in the Hundred Ordinance. The first reference to them occurs in the slightly earlier code, the 'Ordinance of the bishops and reeves of the London district', issued, according to Liebermann, between 930 and 940.[1] This ordinance was agreed to by the bishops and reeves who belonged to London, and had been confirmed in their peace-guild.[2] In common with the Hundred Ordinance its principal aim was to combat theft - of money (Cl 1.1), horses (Cl 6.1), and other property (Cl 6.2-6.4). Members of the guild were to be divided into groups of ten men, one of whom was to have charge of the other nine. Ten of these tithings were to be under a hundredman, and he, with the heads of the ten tithings in his group were to control the various payments made by the members.[3] As in the Hundred Ordinancesthe men of the tithings were to join in the pursuit of a thief (Cl 4,5), and arrangements were made for the hundredman and those in charge of the individual tithings to gather once a month to 'take note of how our agreement is being observed'.[4] Beyond the special conditions of London the hundred courts had an important part to play in the life of the tithings since twice a year at special moots the sheriff would view them, and ensure that they were full.[5]

1. Also referred to as VI Athelstan, Liebermann, op cit, i, 173-183; EHD i, No 37, 423-427.
2. The prologue reads "Dis is seo geraednes, þe þa biscopas & þa gerefan, þe to Lundenbyrig hyrað, gecweden habbað & mid weddum gefæstnod on crum friðgegyldum".
3. Cl 3 "þaet we tellan a X menn togædere (& se yldesta bewiste þa nigene to ælcum þara gelaste þara þe we ealle gecwædon) & syðdan þa hundena heora togædere, & ænne hyndenman, þe þa X men mynige to ure earle gemaene þearfe; & hig XI healdan þære hyndene feoh...'. Details of the payments are to be found in Cl 2.
4. Cl 8.1 "Eahtoðe, þæt we us gegaderian a emban aenne monað, gif we magon & æmton habban, þa hydenmenn & þa þe ða teoþ unge bewitan... & witen hwæt ure gecwydræddene gelæst sy..."
5. This practice is first recorded in the reign of Henry I (1100-1135), but probably existed before, Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p 17.

Between the issuing of Edward's second law code in 924-925, and the date of the Hundred Ordinance the hundreds had become an established feature of English judicial life. In their legislation Athelstan and his successors built upon the foundations laid in the second quarter of the tenth century, and developed and extended the range of business carried out in the hundred courts. There was a steady growth in their work during the tenth and eleventh centuries from concern with cattle-theft to theft in general, matters relating to trade, vouching for warranty, the establishment of a protector, testing of good reputation, and the presentment of offenders.[1] The place of the hundred court in the Anglo-Saxon legal system was firmly established in Edgar's third code, issued at Andover 959-963.[2] It stated that the hundred courts were to meet as they had before, every four weeks; that burh moots were to assemble three times a year; and shire courts twice a year, where the bishop and ealderman were to be present to expound both the ecclesiastical and secular law.[3]

Edgar's fourth law code issued in 962-963 was occasioned by the need to safeguard legitimate trade after a severe outbreak of plague.[4] It decreed that 12 witnesses should be chosen from each hundred (Cl 5), two of whom were to witness every transaction that took place within it (Cl 6.2). A man setting out to make a purchase was to tell his neighbours what he was

1. Loyn, 'The Hundred...', p 9.
2. Liebermann, op cit, i, 200-207; EHD i, No 40, 432-433.
3. Cl 5 "& sece man hundredgemot, saw hit aer geset wæs.
   5.1 "& habbe man þriwa on geare burhgemot & tuwa scirgemot.
   5.2 "& þaer beo a ðaere scire biscop & se ealdorman, & þaer aegðer taecan ge Godes riht ge wouldriht."
4. IV Edgar, Liebermann, op cit, i, 206-215; EHD i No 41, 343-347. See also the notes of Loyn, 'The Hundred...', pp7-8.

going for, and he was to name the witnesses to the transaction on his return (Cl 7), and elaborate arrangements were made to recognise any impulse purchases that might be made (Cl 8, 8.1, and 10).

During the reign of Ethelred II the first references occur to the hundred as the place where oath helpers were to be found to swear to the good name of a man that his lord wished to vindicate.[1] These, and other regulations were repeated in the Laws of Cnut, drafted by Archbishop Wulfstan of York,[2] and issued 1020-1023, which contain a number of clauses relevant to the theme of the hundred.[3] The first of these stated that no one was to distrain on another's property unless he had tried to obtain his rights on three occasions in the hundred, and that he was then to make a fourth attempt in the shire court. If that also failed either court could then grant him permission to seize his own.[4] The code also reinforced the position of the tithings, by requiring all free men over the age of 12 to belong to one in order to be entitled to the right of exculpation, and for his family to receive his wergeld if anyone killed him (Cl 20). In addition,

1. III Ethelred, issued 978-1008 (probably 997) according to EHD i No 43, 439-442; or 981-1012, 997?, Liebermann, op cit, i, 228-232. The relevant clause is 4 - "Gif se hlaford þonne hine ladian wylle mid twam godum þegenum, þæt he nae fre þeofgild ne guilde, siddan þæt gemot wæs on Bromdune, ne he betih lod nære, gauge to anfealdum ordale odde gilde III gilde."
2. The role of Wulfstan in the drafting of these laws is explored fully by D Whitelock in 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', EHR 63 (1948), 433-452, and 'Wulfstan's authorship of Cnut's Laws', EHR 70 (1955), 72-85.
3. II Cnut, Liebermann, op cit, i, 308-371; EHD i, No 49, 455-467 translates extracts from the code.
4. Cl 19. " And ne nime nan man nane naeme ne innan scire ne ut of scire, aer mann haebbe þriwa on hundrede his rihtes gebeden.
19.1 "Gif he æt þam þriddan cyrre, nan riht naebbe, þonne fare he feorðan siðe to sciregemot, & seo scir him sette þone, feoðan andagan.
19.2 "Gif se þonne berste, nime þonne leafe aegþer ge heonon ge þanan, þæt he mote hentan æfter his agenan."

all those over 12 were to swear on oath that they would not be a thief or an accessory to theft (Cl 21). A trustworthy man was to be entitled to the simple process of exculpation within his hundred (Cl 22). Cnut's laws also refer to the witnessing of purchases, and stated that the sale of anything valued at more than four pence was to be witnessed by four men (Cl 24). Penalties for failing to join in the chase after a thief were established (Cl 29, 29.1), and other regulations relating to ordeals promulgated (Cl 30 ff).

Inevitably the law codes concentrated on the legal aspects of the hundred, but the institution had other, equally important, administrative roles. The first of these was in the collection of geld, the national land tax, in which the hundred was the basic unit of account.[1] It seems likely that in some areas there were originally one hundred hides in each hundred,[2] although by 1086 there were few that still retained a round total.[3] Alterations in hundredal boundaries; and reassessments of the hidages of individual estates, whole hundreds, and shires, together helped to produce the irregular totals recorded in Domesday Book and the abstracts of the South-Western geld rolls. It is likely that in order for the geld collectors to complete their task

1. This is clear from the geld roll abstracts contained in the Liber Exoniensis, ff 65-82b, described in detail by R W Finn, The Liber Exoniensis (1964), pp 97-123. See also generally, M K Lawson, 'The collection of Danegeld and Heregeld in the reigns of Aethelred II and Cnut', EHR 99 (1984), 721-738.
2. As noted by Loyn, 'Governance..., p 141.
3. For example, F H Baring's Domesday Tables (1909) show that in Surrey only one of the 14 hundreds had contained 100 hides in 1066, but none of them did in 1086, p 17. None of the 21 in Berkshire had 100 hides at either date, p 51; and neither did any of the 8 in Hertfordshire, p 107, or the 18 of Buckinghamshire, p 143; although three of the 12 hundreds in Bedfordshire were assessed at 100 hides in 1066, and one of them had that total 20 years later, p 179. However, in 1086 Worcestershire contained 12,000 hides, and 12 hundreds, as is considered further below, p 187 fn 5.

expeditiously the sheriff or hundred reeve would have been required to maintain a list of the estates in each hundred, with details of their assessments, and who held them. There is evidence from the South-West that the hundred jurors knew which estates did not pay geld.[1]

A second facet of the work of the hundred that was not mentioned directly in the law codes concerned changes in the ownership of land. It seems from entries in Domesday Book that the transference of an estate from one landholder to another was notified to the moot of the hundred in which the holding lay. The hundred jurors were thus able to inform the Domesday Commissioners of estates held illegally by Norman barons.[2] The notification of changes in ownership may be seen as part of the process by which the hundred witnessed transactions,[3] but it was also important in order to keep accurate records of who was responsible for the payment of the geld.

The preceding discussion has provided a 'theoretical' account of the nature of hundreds. Information contained in Domesday Book and other post-Conquest sources indicates that there were a number of practical aspects of hundred administration which are not mentioned in the law codes. The three most important of these were: the grouping of hundreds, hundredal manors, and

1. Finn, The Liber Exoniensis, p 97, noted the evidence given on the exemption of some of Robert of Mortain's lands from paying geld.
2. The mechanics of the redistribution of estates after the Norman Conquest is discussed by R W Finn, An Introduction to Domesday Book (1963), pp 31-33, and also in his The Eastern Counties (1967), pp 11-35.
3. Particularly since land was bought and sold in the Anglo-Saxon period, as was considered further in Chapter 5, p 171.

private hundreds.[1]

For much of their administrative life hundreds operated independently of their neighbours, and only occasionally did the jurors of a group of hundreds meet to deal with a suit that concerned them all.[2] While later in the medieval period there were instances of previously separate hundreds being amalgamated,[3] it is clear that some groups of hundreds which were administered as single entities, had never existed as separate units. It is likely that some of these were pre-existing administrative areas, that on the formation of hundreds were left intact and reckoned to contain a number of these new units. Miss Cam has drawn attention to a number of examples of these, including the 'seven hundreds of Cirencester', and the 'seven hundreds of Grumbald's Ash', both of which were in Gloucestershire.[4] In Suffolk the eight and a half Thingoe hundreds, and the five and a half hundreds of Wicklaw or Sudburn were both pre-existing administrative units the lordships of which were granted respectively to the abbeys of Bury, and Ely; the Thingoe hundreds, being, like the two

1. The basic studies of all of these aspects were written by Miss H M Cam, and are detailed below. A collection of her papers was published in 1963 under the title Liberties & Communities in Medieval England. Page references to her articles cited here refer to the original publications and not the collected edition.
2. Loyn, 'The Hundred...', p 11, discussed examples of joint meetings of hundreds recorded in the Liber Eliensis. Others are considered by H M Cam, 'Early Groups of Hundreds', in J C Edwards et al (eds) 'Historical Essays in honour of James Tait' (1933), p 16.
3. Examples are given by Cam, 'Early Groups', pp 13-14.
4. Ibid. p 17, examples from other shires are listed on succeeding pages. Although described as the seven hundreds of Cirencester, the area consisted of eight units, and was assessed at 700 hides - H M Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo: the Hundred and the Hundredal Manor', EHR 47 (1932), 371 fn 1.

hundreds of the Isle of Ely, royal dower lands.[1] The practice of assigning to earlier administrative units a notional number of hundreds was a common one, and Miss Cam listed 29 examples of 'groups of hundreds associated with one centre', from a total of 15 shires, of which 22 are first recorded in 1086 or before.[2]

These groups of hundreds represented the adaptation of earlier local administrative arrangements to harmonise with the new system of hundreds created in the tenth century. Another aspect of this process was the association of a hundred with a particular manor. The role of the reeves of the royal manors in local administration has already been noted, and it is likely that when the areas around royal estates that they administered were organised as hundreds, the lordship of them became an appurtenance of the manor.[3] Such a view is supported by the fact that many of the manors to which hundreds were dependent were ancient royal estates.[4] Miss Cam has noted numerous examples of this phenomenon of 'Manerium cum hundredo' in twelfth and thirteenth century records, and also observed that the relationship between manors and hundreds can in some cases be traced back to Domesday. In Norfolk,

1. Cam, 'Early Groups', pp 21-22. For Wicklaw and the Isle of Ely see E Miller, The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely (1953), pp 10-15, and 29 ff respectively. R W Finn, The Eastern Counties (1967), pp 107-108, considers the view that the Thingoe and Wicklaw groups may have been 'miniature shires'.
2. Cam, 'Early Groups', p 26.
3. The essential study of this subject is H M Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo: The Hundred and the Hundredal Manor', EHR 47 (1932), 353-376.
4. Ibid, 357.

for example, 16 of the 31 hundreds in the shire were in the thirteenth century associated with manors, and ten of them were so linked in Domesday,[1] while in Oxfordshire in 1086, all seven of the royal manors had two or more hundreds annexed to them.[2]

The final aspect of hundredal organisation to be considered here is the private lordship of hundreds. In many cases ecclesiastical institutions or laymen were the lords of hundreds because they owned a manor of which the lordship was one of the appurtenances.[3] Many of the hundreds in private hands in 1066 were held by religious houses, and it has been suggested that there was a conscious policy to involve the reforming clerics of the tenth century in the secular government by the granting of lordships of hundreds to their churches.[4] In some shires this process left only a few hundreds in the king's hands, and the sheriff of Worcestershire complained to the Domesday Commissioners that since seven of the 12 hundreds in the shire were exempt from his jurisdiction he lost much on his farm.[5] The practice of granting lordships was widespread, and Miss Cam listed 101 single hundreds and groups in 24 shires that she believed were held privately before the Conquest.[6]

1. Ibid, 363.
2. Ibid, 363. See also H M Cam, 'The Hundred outside the North Gate of Oxford', Oxoniensia i,(1936), 113-128, where not only this particular hundred, but also the general arrangement of the hundreds in the shire is discussed.
3. It should however be noted that Bury Abbey did not own all of the land in the Thingoe hundreds, and neither did Ely in Wicklaw.
4. Loyn, 'The Hundred...', pp 13-14, who also drew attention to the growth in private lordship which occurred at the same time as the hundred was developing, ibid, pp 9-10.
5. DB i, f 172, commented upon VCH Worcs i, 237-238. There were exactly 12,000 hides in the shire, of which 300 belonged to the Worcester Cathedral triple-hundred of Oswaldslaw, 200 to Westminster Abbey, and 100 each to Pershore, and Evesham. Cam, 'Early Groups...', p 21, took the view that the 'three hundreds of Oswaldslaw are obviously an accumulation of estates that had been transformed by special grant into an administrative entity'. The complaint of the Worcestershire sheriff was "In ipso comitatu sunt XII hund. ho' VII ita su' quieti sic' scira dicit: q'd uicecom' nichil habet in eis & id'o sic' dicit in firma multu'p'dit,".
6. 'The 'Private' Hundred before the Conquest', in Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson (1957), pp 57-60. Many of the hundreds listed were included because they were later recorded as being appurtenant to a manor, since there are surprisingly few references in Domesday to the private receipt of the profits of hundreds.

Burhs[1]

Towns were an important aspect of life in Anglo-Saxon England, with perhaps ten percent of the 1066 population town-dwellers. Of the 35 boroughs whose populations are recorded in Domesday Book 21 had more than 200 burgesses, and five more than 900. Calculating actual numbers of men, women and children from this information is hazardous, but London probably had well over 10,000 inhabitants, with Lincoln, York, and Winchester as the next most important towns. After them came a group of towns - Chester, Thetford, Exeter, Stamford, Canterbury, Norwich, Southwark, and Oxford which ranked above the shire towns - Shrewsbury, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Ipswich, for example - and the smaller burhs, some of them quite tiny, particularly in South-West England.[2] The Anglo-Saxon town was not a creation of the last centuries before the Norman Conquest, for Bede spoke of the bustling commercial activity of London in the early seventh century, when he described it as 'a trading centre for many nations who visit it by land and sea'.[3] Other early towns, which developed within Roman walls, included Canterbury, and Rochester. The eighth and ninth centuries were important ones for the development of towns, witnessing the evolution of the haga or haw as the distinctive term to describe urban tenements.[4] From the same period comes evidence of tolls,[5] of foreign trade,[6] and of guilds[7]. Farming was also an important feature of these towns, and the agricultural element was one of three

1. The basic work on Anglo-Saxon towns is J Tait, The Medieval English Borough (1936) pp 1-138. This was written to refute the claims of C Stephenson that there were no towns in pre-Conquest England, advanced in his Borough and Town. A Study of Urban Origins in England (1933). The only modern reappraisal of all aspects of pre-Conquest towns is H Loyn's essay, 'Towns in late Anglo-Saxon England; the evidence and some possible lines of enquiry', in P Clemoes and K Hughes (eds) England before the Conquest (1971), pp 115-128. More specialised studies will be noted below, but mention should be made here of A Ballard's The Domesday Boroughs (1904), and Chapter X, 'Boroughs and Towns', of H C Darby's Domesday England (1977).
2. For population details see Tait, op cit, pp 130 ff, and Darby, op cit, p 89, where by using a multiplier of four to produce actual population totals from the figures recorded in Domesday the number of town dwellers is 120,000 of a total population of 1,275,175. The ranking of the towns is derived from Fig 9.2 of D Hill's 'Trends in the Development of Towns during the reign of Ethelred II', in D Hill (ed) Ethelred The Unready (1978), pp 213-226. Among the smallest burhs were Bruton, Cadbury, Milbourne, Warminster, Langport, and Crewkerne.
3. B Colgrave and R A B Myers, Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (1969), pp 142-143, II.3 - "super ripam praefati fluminis posita et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique uenientium".
4. This subject is discussed by Tait, op cit, p 8 and more extensively by F W Maitland, Township and Borough (1898), p 48, and passim.
5. There are references to tolls in several diplomas, including Alfred's grant to bishop Waerferth of Worcester of land in London in 889, ASCh No 346; and from the previous century AEthelbald of Mercia's grant of the toll due from one ship at London to Abbess Mildred and Thanet Minster in 733?, ASCh No 86.
6. Tait, op cit, p 10, noted that in 789 during a quarrel between Charles the Great and Offa that the emperor closed Frankish ports to English merchants.
7. The Cnihtguild in Canterbury is referred to in the grant of land in the city to Oswig and Weahtryth by Ealhhere in 858 x 866, ASCh No 1199.

main characteristics of these pre-Danish invasion towns. The others were an area (usually defended) given over to housing, and a sector of the population that was engaged in trade.[1] Most of these towns had developed for economic reasons, and although controlled by royal reeves, the principal administrative element in them was often the church, for some cathedrals were to be found in towns.[2]

The reign of Alfred (871-899) marked a turning point in the history of English towns, for his successful campaigns against the Viking invaders was based upon a network of fortified centres - burhs - which he had constructed in his kingdom of Wessex.[3] The term burh, or burhgeat, originally referred to a fortified residence, which, with a church, kitchen, and special office in the king's hall distinguished a thegn from a ceorl.[4] These larger burhs provided not only a refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside when there were hostile forces in the vicinity, but also served as a secure base for trade and administration. By Alfred's death Wessex and its dependencies were defended by a ring of 31 of them, some older towns, but about a third small military centres of temporary importance that never developed into towns. The administrative arrangements for the defence of these burhs is known in some detail since it was recorded in a document known as 'The Burghal Hidage'.[5] The estates around the burhs were assessed in hides, and from every 16 hides 16 soldiers were to be sent to defend 22 yards of wall. All of the burhs of the Hidage were royal foundations, with the exception of Worcester, founded as an appendage of the church there between 885 and 890.[6] Alfred's burhs were essentially defensive in nature, but during the campaigns of

1. Tait summarised the evidence relating to pre-Danish English towns, op cit, pp 11-14.
2. There was a move in the second half of the eleventh century to site all cathedrals in towns. Before the Conquest the Devon see had moved from Crediton into Exeter, and as a result of the Council at London 1074 x 1075, the bishopric of Selsey moved to Chichester, Sherborne to Sarum, and Dorchester to Lincoln. The record of the council is printed by D Whitelock, M Brett, and C N L Brooke (Eds) Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church I AD 871-1204, Pt II (1981), No 92, 607-616.
3. F M Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (1975), pp264 ff, discusses Alfred's strategy of fortress building. According to Asser, Alfred's biographer, "De civitatibus et urbibus renovandis et aliis, ubi nunquam ante fuerant, construendis?"; W H Stevenson (Ed) Asser's Life of King Alfred (1959), 91, p 77.
4. These were the attributes of a thegn according to the text entitled Geþyncðo, of the early eleventh century, Liebermann, op cit, i, 456-459; EHD No 51, 468-471. Clause two reads "And gif ceorl geþeah, þæt he hæfde V hida fullice agenes..bellan & burhgeat, setl & sundornote on cynges healle, þonne wæs he þa on ford þegenrihtes wyrðe".
5. D Hill, 'The Burghal Hidage: The Establishment of a Text', Medieval Archaeology 13 (1969), 84-92 is the most recent general account of the document. Fig 37, p 89, shows that the burhs were listed in geographical order, commencing at Eorpeburnan just in Kent, and travelling clockwise around the perimeter of the kingdom to Southwark.
6. Discussed by Tait, op cit, pp 19-21. The burh was founded at the suggestion of Bishop Werfrith, who received half of its revenues, as agreed by Ealdorman AEthelred and AEthelflaed, lady of the Mercians, 884 x 901, ASCh No 223.

his son Edward the Elder they were used offensively, and constructed as military strongpoints as his armies advanced into Mercia and the Danish-occupied East of England.[1]

Burghal fortifications continued to be maintained throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and beyond.[2] It was noted in Chapter 2 that estates freed from other obligations were not normally relieved of the liability to provide men to repair fortifications.[3] Athelstan's second law code of 926-c930 included the injunction to repair burghal fortifications during the fortnight after Rogation Days.[4] In 1008 Ethelred II urged the people to be zealous to improve the peace, and in the repair of fortifications and bridges.[5] Similar calls were repeated in Cnut's laws.[6]

Once the burhs had lost their immediate military significance kings from Athelstan onwards attempted by legislation to develop their trade by concentrating within them mercantile activity. They did this to facilitate the collection of tolls, increase profits of justice, and moneyers' fees, and also because the public nature of transactions there prevented fraud. The injunction in Edward the Elder's first law code against trading outside towns[7] was repeated and enlarged upon by Athelstan, who demanded that anyone buying something valued at more than twenty shillings should do so before the port reeve or other witnesses.[8] In 962-963 Edgar established panels of witnesses in burhs who were to supervise trading. In larger towns they were to consist of 36 men, and in smaller burhs and hundreds, 12.[9] The existence of such panels in hundreds suggests that the attempt to confine trading to burhs was failing, and the statement in Cnut's laws that four witnesses

1. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle annal for 912 illustrates this point - "Eadweard cyning atimbran þa norðran burg æt Heorot forda betweox Memeran & Bene ficcan & Lygean... Eadweard cyning mid sumum his fultume on East Seaxe to Maeldune & wicode þaer þa while þe man þa burg worhte & getimbrede æt Witham... sum his fultum worhte þa burg þa hwile æt Heorot forda on suþ healfe Lygean", ; 96 in C Plummer's (1892) edition, Tait noted, op cit, p 25, that Edward's burhs did not develop into towns as successfully as his father's.
2. For example, the work on the fortifications at Chester, considered in Chapter 2, above, p 38.
3. Above, p p 37-38.
4. Liebermann, op cit, i, 150-167; EHD i, No 35, 417-422. Cl 13 - "Ond we cweðaþ, ðæt æle burh sy gebat XIIII niht ofer gongdagas".
5. Liebermann, op cit, i, 236-247; EHD i, No 44, 442-446. Cl 26.1 - "& boe man georne ymbe friðes bote & ymbe feos bote æghwar on earde, & ymbe burhbota on æghwylcan ende & ymbe frydunga eac, be ðam þe man geraede, aa þonne neod sy".
6. II Cnut 9 - "And gemeta & gewihta rihte man georne & ælces unrihtes heonon forð geswice. Cl 10 - "& burhbota & bricbota & scipforðunga aginne man georn e, & fyrdunga eac swa, a þænne þearf si for gemænelicre neode"; and Cl 65 - "Gif hwa burhbote oððe brycgbote oððe fyrdfare forsitte, gebete mid CXX scyll' þam cingce on Engla lage".
7. Liebermann, op cit, i, 138-141, where dated 901-924. The relevant passage is in the first clause - "& nan man ne ceapige butan port, ac hæbbe þæes portgerefan gewitnesse oððe oþera ungelingenra manna, ðe man gelyfan mæge".
8. II Athelstan 12 "Ond we cwædon, þæt mon nænne ceap ne geceapige buton porte ofer XX penega; ac ceapige ðær binnon on þaes portgerefan gewitnesse oððe on oþres unlygnes monnes, oððe eft on þara gerefenagewitnesse on folcgemote", 13.1 "Oþer; þæt ælc ceaping sy binnon port."
9. IV Edgar 3 "Ðæt is þonne, þæt ic wille þæt ælc mon sy under borge ge binnan burgum buton burgum.

   3.1 "& gewitnes sy geset to ælcere byrig & to ælcum hundrode:

   4. "To ælcere byrig XXXVI syn gecorone to gewitness;

   5. "To smalum burgum & to ælcum hundrode XII, buton ge ma willan.

   6. "& ælc mon mid heora gewitnysse bigcge & sylle ælc þara ceapa, þe he bigcge oððe sylle aþer oððe burge oððe on wæpengetace."

were required for the purchase of anything worth more than four pence 'whether within a burh or in the country'[1] underlines the inability of Anglo-Saxon kings to prevent trading in the countryside.

Not only did Athelstan's code of the 920s seek to limit trade to burhs, it also stated that moneyers were only to operate in ports.[2] This is the first reference in Anglo-Saxon law codes to the actual minting of coins, although Edgar had earlier decreed that there was to be one currency throughout his realm.[3] He facilitated this by greatly increasing the number of mints so that most parts of his kingdom were no more than 15-20 miles from one.[4] Athelstan also lay down savage penalties for moneyers convicted of forgery - the offender's hand was to be cut off and fixed up outside the mint.[5] Similar measures were repeated by Ethelred, which suggest that like the injunction against trading outside towns, they were not completely successful.[6] Athelstan's code had specified the number of moneyers that there were to be in each burh - 7 in Canterbury, 3 in Rochester, 8 in London, 6 at Winchester, 2 each at Lewes, Southampton, Wareham, Exeter, and Shaftesbury, and one each at Hastings, Chichester, Dorchester, and all other towns (Cl 14.2). Ethelred tried to standardise the number of moneyers at 3 in every principal town, and one in all the others.[7]

The moneyers who produced the fine Anglo-Saxon silver pennies were often men of substance. Their name, and that if the town in which they worked appeared on the reverse

1. II Cnut 24 - "& nan man þingc ne bigce ofer feower peniwurð, ne libende ne licgende, buton man habbe getrywe gewitnesse feower manna, seo hit binnan byrig, sy hit upp on lande."
2. II Athelstan 14 - "Be myneterum. Þridda: þæt an mynet sy ofer eall ðaes cynges onweald; & nan mon ne mynetige buton on port." The relationship between mints and towns is explored in H R Loyn, 'Boroughs and Mints', in R H M Dolley (Ed), Anglo-Saxon Coins (1961), pp 122-135.
3. This was in III Edgar 8 "& ga an mynet ofer ealne þaes cynges anweald, & þane nan man se forsace". There had been references in earlier laws to the currency, for example Alfred 3 which mentioned "v pundum maerra paeninga".
4. Edgar's reform of the coinage is fully explored by R H M Dolley and D M Metcalf 'The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar', Dolley (Ed) Anglo-Saxon Coins, pp 136-168. The increase in the number of mints during his reign is strikingly demonstrated by comparing the map of the mints operating before 973 (p 150), with that which shows those operating after that date (p 151).
5. II Athelstan 14.1, "& Gif se myntere ful wurðe, slea mon of þa hond, ðe he ðaet ful mid worhte, & sette up on ða mynetsmiðdan..."
6. III Ethelred 8, "And aelc mynetere, þe man tihð, þæt fals feoh sloge, syðdan hit forboden wæres, gange to þrimfealdan ordale; gif he ful beo, slea hine man."
7. IV Ethelred, a code dated by Liebermann to c991-c1002, op cit, i, 232-237, which only survives in a Latin version. Cl 9 reads - "Et ut monetarii pauciores sint quam antea fuerint; in omni summo portu III, et in omni alio portu sit unus monetarius".

of their coins, the obverse of which bore a representation of the king. Designs were changed regularly, and the dies issued from regional centres were paid for by the moneyers.[1] Those in Hereford paid eighteen shillings when they received new dies, and a further twenty shillings within a month of their return home with them.[2] The maximum number of mints in operation at any one time was probably 60, and their connections with towns not only fostered their economic development, but also illustrated the strength of royal control over this vital aspect of the nation's administration.

Moneyers were one part of the population of later Anglo-Saxon towns.[3] There were others - shopkeepers, craftsmen, merchants, and those who farmed the town fields. There is evidence that some residents organised themselves into guilds, although the precise nature of these organisations is not altogether clear. Reference was made in the discussion of hundreds to the peace guild in London of the tenth century[4], and regulations survive of guilds from Cambridge, Exeter, Bedwyn, and Abbotsbury.[5] These organisations do not appear to have been the trade guilds of the later medieval period, but to have provided insurance facilities, guarenteeing members a decent burial, and support for those involved in feuds.[6] The typical town-dweller, or burgess was a freeman, whose only obligation was to pay rent to the king for his burgage - for example, a penny in Lincoln, but ten pence in Malmesbury.[7] There was a general distinction between landright and boroughright, that is the tenure of land outside burhs and within them.[8] Urban tenements were heritable, and could be sold, given away, and mortgaged without licence. Many

1. P Stafford, 'Historical Implications of the Regional Production of Dies under AEthelred II', British Numismatic Jnl 48 (1978), 35-50.
2. DB ii, f 179 - "Quando moneta renouat' dabat quisq' eos XVIII solid' p'cuneis recipiendis & ex eo die quo redibant usq' ad unu'mense' dabat q'sq'eos regi XX solid'".
3. An introduction to the moneyers is to be found in Chapter 3, pp 44-56, of V J Smart's unpublished University of Nottingham MA thesis (1963) 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 973-1016'.
4. Considered further above, p 179.
5. These are translated in EHD i No 136, 604-605, Cambridge; 137, 605, Exeter; 138, 605-606, Bedwyn; No 139, 606-607, Abbotsbury. With the exception of the Bedwyn regulations they were printed by B Thorpe, Diplomatarium Anglicum aevi Saxonici (1865), pp 605-614. The Exeter and Bedwyn regulations date from the first half of the tenth century, those from Cambridge to late in that century, and the Abbotsbury set from the eleventh.
6. The burial arrangements were a prominent feature of the Abbotsbury statutes; fueds, that of those from Cambridge.
7. Tait, op cit, p 90-91, citing DB i, f 64b (Malmesbury), and ibid, f 336a (Lincoln), with other examples from Domesday.
8. These terms occur in the treatise entitled Episcopatus, dated 1000-1050 by Liebermann, op cit, i, 477-479. Clause 6 reads - "Ne sceall he gebafian a-enig unriht ne woh gemet ne fals gewihte; ac hit gebryed, þaet be his raede fare & be his getwitnesse aeghwyl lahriht, ge burhriht ge landriht; aelc burhgemet & aelc waegpundern beo be his dihte gescift swide." Tait, op cit, 78-112, discussed at length 'The burgesses and their tenure'.

burgesses had a share in the town's fields, in addition to their houses.[1] The burgesses were those who contributed to the burh customs, but there were also other inhabitants such as those too poor to pay, or the tenants of urban messuages that belonged to rural manors, and were reckoned as part of their sokeland.[2]

The extent of royal initiative in the creation of burhs by Alfred and Edward is clear enough, and only exceptionally were they established by ecclesiastical institutions.[3] It has already been noted that the towns were administered by a reeve appointed by the king, and responsible, amongst other things, for the payment of tithes on royal property within it.[4] He held a court, and prominent at its sessions were a group of senior burgesses, the lagemen of the Danish burhs,[5] and the seniores or witan of Ethelred's fourth law code.[6] The first indications of the working of burh courts are found in Athelstan's second law code. It stated that seven day's notice was to be given of a meeting, and anyone who failed to attend when summoned three times was to pay a fine for disobedience to the king. If the offender still refused to pay the fine or attend the court the riding men were to set out, take what he owned, and put him under surety.[7] These clauses are a forceful reminder of the royal nature of the reeve and his court, and demonstrate the king's determination to preserve order, and respect for his authority. In his regulation of the meetings of the local courts Edgar decreed that the burh courts should meet three times a year.[8] It has been suggested that this legislation refers to the special gatherings of the weekly hustings courts of London, since a large town would have needed more than three sessions a year to transact all the necessary business.[9]

1. The complexity of the borough fields of Cambridge is forcefully demonstrated by F W Maitland, Township and Borough, pp 52-67.
2. This point is made by Tait, op cit, p 89.
3. The case of Worcester has already been noted. There were also three burhs in Kent that belonged to Canterbury Cathedral - Sandwich (DB i, f 4), Hythe (ibid, f 4b), and Seasalter (ibid, f 4), and a fourth, Fordwich, which Edward the Confessor granted to St Augustine's Abbey, Tait, op cit, 140-141. For the pre-Conquest Kentish towns see T Tatton-Brown, 'The Towns of Kent', in J Haslam (Ed) Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England (1984), pp 1-36.
4. As noted in the prologue to I Athelstan, a code dated by Liebermann to 925-c936, op cit, 146-149. "cyð ðam gerefan to hwilcere birig...þæt ge ærest of minum agenum gode agifan ða teoðunga..."
5. Tait, op cit, p 43. In Cambridge the heriot of the lagemen suggests that they were of thegnly class - DB i, f 189.
6. IV Ethelred 9.1 "Et illi habeant suboperarios suos in suo crimine, quod purum faciant et recti ponderis, per eandem witam quam prediximus."
7. II Athelstan 20 "Gif hwa gemot forsitte þriwa, gilde ðæes cynges oferhyrnesse; & hit beo seofon nihtum ær geboden, ær ðæt gemot sy.

   20.1 "Gif he þonne ryht wyrcan nylle ne þa oferhyrnesse syllan, þonne ridan þa yldestan men to, ealle þe to þære byrig hiron, & nimon eall ðæt he age & setton hine on borh."
8. III Edgar 5.1, cited above, p 180.
9. Tait, op cit, p 38, and generally Chapter II, pp 30-67.

In many cases however burhs were served by monthly courts, for they were also hundreds or half hundreds, and so had an urban version of the hundred courts. The smaller burhs of the South West probably did not have their own courts, and were answerable to those of the hundreds in which they lay.[1]

A final aspect of Anglo-Saxon burhs which requires examination is the revenues that they produced. The fines, tolls, payments by moneyers, rents, and other receipts from the urban centres of late Anglo-Saxon England were in total a considerable amount of money. It was divided between the king, who received two-thirds of the total, and the earls, who received the other third of the profits from the burhs that lay within their earldoms.[2] The earls also received the third penny from the pleas of the shires in their earldoms, and together these sums were often included in the render of a comital manor near the shire town.[3] In some cases details of the earl's share were recorded in Domesday Book, and in 1066 Gurth received £5 from Ipswich; while from Huntingdon the earl had £15. When the king granted the lordship of a burh to a religious institution it received only his share, and the earl continued to collect his third penny.[5]

1. As noted by Tait, op cit, p 55.
2. The best account of this involved subject is that by Tait, op cit, pp 140-148.
3. For example Cotes, in the case of Warwickshire, DB i, f 238; Tait op cit, p 142.
4. DB ii, f 294, and DB i, f 203, respectively.
5. Tait, op cit, p 145.

The prece ding pages have demonstrated that there were a number of features which characterised later Anglo-Saxon burhs. Ballard identified 73 pre-Conquest burhs which exhibited one or more of the following features: a separate court, heterogenous tenure, the existence of the earl's third penny, and a mint.[1] Of these attributes Tait believed that the fundamental one was the earl's third penny, since it was the feature that was found in no other type of vill. The disadvantage of using this as the test to determine whether a place should be classed as a burh is that there are comparatively few pre-Conquest or Domesday references to its payment, a difficulty recognised by Tait himself, but explained away by the statement that 'there was often no occasion to mention this feature'.[2] More recently it has been suggested by Loyn that the 'most satisfying and complete' of the 'possible tests of borough status' is the possession of a mint. Not only is the existence of a mint easy to detect from the numerous examples of Anglo-Saxon pennies preserved in museums and private collections,[3] but it is also the one feature common not only to small burhs like Watchet, and large ones the size of York; but also to the mediatized towns of Kent, and their royal counterparts in Essex. The royal initiative in the creation of burhs has already been noted, and this is also clearly to be seen in the establishment of mints. The coinage was the king's, issued under close supervision, and for the most part produced

1. The English Borough in the Twelfth Century (1914), pp 43-45.
2. Op cit, p 64.
3. These are described in H A Grueber & C F K Keary, A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series, Vol II (1893), and the British Academy's Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, (1958-), in progress.

in burhs which were also royal creations, as the following example demonstrates. The establishment of a mint within the Iron Age fortifications of South Cadbury Castle while production at Bruton and elsewhere was disrupted by Danish raiding gave the Somerset hilltop a temporary claim to burghal status which it lost when the moneyers returned to their homes, after the danger had passed.[1]

For a burh to develop into a town, and a borough, it required more than the legal characteristics that have been discussed. Although the agricultural aspects of late Anglo-Saxon towns were important,[2] it was trade that formed the economic structure erected upon the administrative foundation laid by the king. The presence of a market, and a resident population of merchants and traders, often dwelling in houses that fronted onto carefully planned streets, has been recognised as an important element of the late Saxon town.[3] However, behind the economic wealth and the bustling activity of the market place, lay the hand of the king, for the town was administered by his reeve, its moneyers produced his coins, and in the majority of cases its revenues were shared between him and his earl.

1. Loyn, 'Boroughs and Mints', p 131.
2. In Domesday the agricultural aspects of a town are often well recorded, and their mercantile features ignored, Tait, op cit, pp 114-117.
3. The essential study on pre-Conquest town-planning is M Biddle and D Hill's paper 'Late Saxon planned Towns', Antiquaries Jnl 51 (1971), 70-85. In his chapter on 'The Towns of Kent' in Anglo-Saxon Towns In Southern England, Tatton-Brown included a Table (1, p 2), which indicates the incidence of 12 urban features in the towns of the shire.

Conclusion

The network of hundred (and in the north, wapentake) courts that existed in England in 1066 had been created by royal command, initially to combat theft, and facilitate legitimate trade. These aims were implemented by local men working at first under the direction of the royal reeve, and later of the hundredman. The initiative in the development of the hundred as a judicial and administrative institution lay with successive kings, and resulted from centrally-determined policies rather than from local needs and aspirations. Not only was the enforcement of the hundredal legislation delegated to local men, the right of appointing the hundredman and of receiving the profits of justice from his court were not exclusively in the king's hand, but had in many cases been granted by him to laymen or ecclesiastical institutions.

Strong royal initiative is also to be seen in the establishment of burhs, as both military, and mercantile centres. The insistence on adequate witness to transactions, and the careful control over the minting of the nation's currency stand out as important elements in the development of the pre-Conquest English towns. The reeve of the burh was a royal appointee, and although the earl received one third of its revenues, there were few instances of the lordship of burhs being granted by the king in the way that the control of hundreds was. Most of the English urban centres remained much more firmly in the hands of the king, with less of the partnership with others that existed in the administration of hundreds. It was presumably their size, and their wealth that induced the Anglo-Saxon kings to keep most of their burhs under their own direct control.

Chapter 7

The Hundreds of Essex in the late Anglo-Saxon period

The hundreds of Essex have had a long history. First recorded in Domesday Book,[1] some of them still exist today as administrative units. The modern District of Tendring is exactly coterminous with the Domesday hundred ; the Borough of Colchester comprises the old borough and hundred of Colchester, and the hundreds of Lexden and Winstree; and the Maldon District is based on the hundred and borough of Maldon, and the hundred of Dengie. In addition, the hundred name of Uttlesford has been given to the local government District based on Saffron Walden.

Despite their longevity documentary material on the Essex hundreds is sparse,[2] and because of this published literature on them is meagre. For example, in the introduction to his history of Essex Morant listed the 14 hundreds, 5 half hundreds, and the Liberty of Havering without any comment. His book is a collection of histories of the parishes of Essex rather than a history of the county as such. The parishes are arranged in their hundreds, and as an introduction to each group Morant included a note on the name of the hundred, the site of its meeting place , and such details of its history as he had discovered.[3] The best survey

1. There are apparently pre-1086 references to the hundreds of Chafford, Barstable, Rochford, and Thurstable in the Westminster Domesday Book, a fourteenth century compilation for which see J A Robinson and M R James, The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey (1909), pp 93-94.
2. F G Emmison, Guide to the Essex Record Office (1969), p 184 shows how little has reached the county archive in the way of Essex hundredal records - Tendring court books 1627-1714, Ongar and Harlow farmers' accounts 1427-1522, and Becontree bailiffs' papers 1778-1844.
3. The list of hundreds is on page xvii of the first volume of The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex (1768). Notes on individual hundreds vary in quality - those on Becontree (i, 1) are useful, whereas his remarks about Freshwell (ii, 518) are of less value, chiefly because of the shortage of documentary material known to Morant.

of the Essex hundreds is to be found in Round's introduction to the county Domesday text.[1] His survey begins with a consideration of the half hundred of Thunreslau, and moves on to discuss the names of the hundreds, and their meeting places. Round took the view that the hundreds were formed 'late', in view of the fact that (for example) the three Thurrock parishes were divided between Chafford and Barstable hundreds, and of the two Bumpsteads, one lay in Freshwell, and the other in Hinckford. He also suggested that Clavering hundred was 'taken out of Uttlesford for the benefit of Suain of Essex, who appears to have been its lord', and noted that Colchester hundred was cut out of Lexden, the parish of Lexden itself lying within the borough boundary. He observed the compact nature of the coastal hundreds, and concluded his remarks by referring to the regular order in which the hundreds occur in the fiefs of Domesday, including the double appearance of Dengie, and Uttlesford.

The two hundreds of Uttlesford were considered by Fowler in a penetrating paper published in 1922 which also discussed the evidence for the division of other Essex hundreds in the medieval period.[2] In addition he also proposed a model to explain the formation of the hundreds of Freshwell, and Clavering from Uttlesford, and the division of the latter. Four years elapsed before the (to date) latest study of the Essex hundreds appeared, in the form of Christy's attempts to identify their meeting places.[3] Reaney's volume on the place names of Essex discussed

1. VCH Ex i, 405-410.
2. R C Fowler, 'Utlesford (sic) Hundred, East and West', TEAS xvi new series (1922), 183-186.
3. M Christy, 'The Essex Hundred Moots: An attempt to identify their meeting-places', ibid, xviii (1926), 172-197.

the etymology and names of the shire's hundreds,[1] but there was little more in the way of hundredal studies until the first of the parish history volumes of the Essex Victoria County History appeared in 1956, with an eight-page study of the hundred of Ongar.[2] To date four other hundreds have been treated more briefly in succeeding volumes.[3]

It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the pre-Conquest history of the hundreds of Essex. It will be argued that the shire was divided into hundreds by Edward the Elder in the second decade of the tenth century, and that during the century and a half that followed until the Norman Conquest there were radical changes in both their number and shape. The Essex hundred boundaries as they existed in 1066 became fossilised, and changed little during the remainder of the medieval period. It therefore seems likely that the map of Essex hundreds that can be drawn from the Domesday data gives an accurate representation of their configuration in 1066, and much of the argument of their pre-Conquest evolution is based upon the evidence of their boundaries.[4] The lack of a detailed general survey of the Essex hundreds renders it necessary to examine aspects of their 1086 topography as a preliminary to reconstructing their pre-Conquest histories.

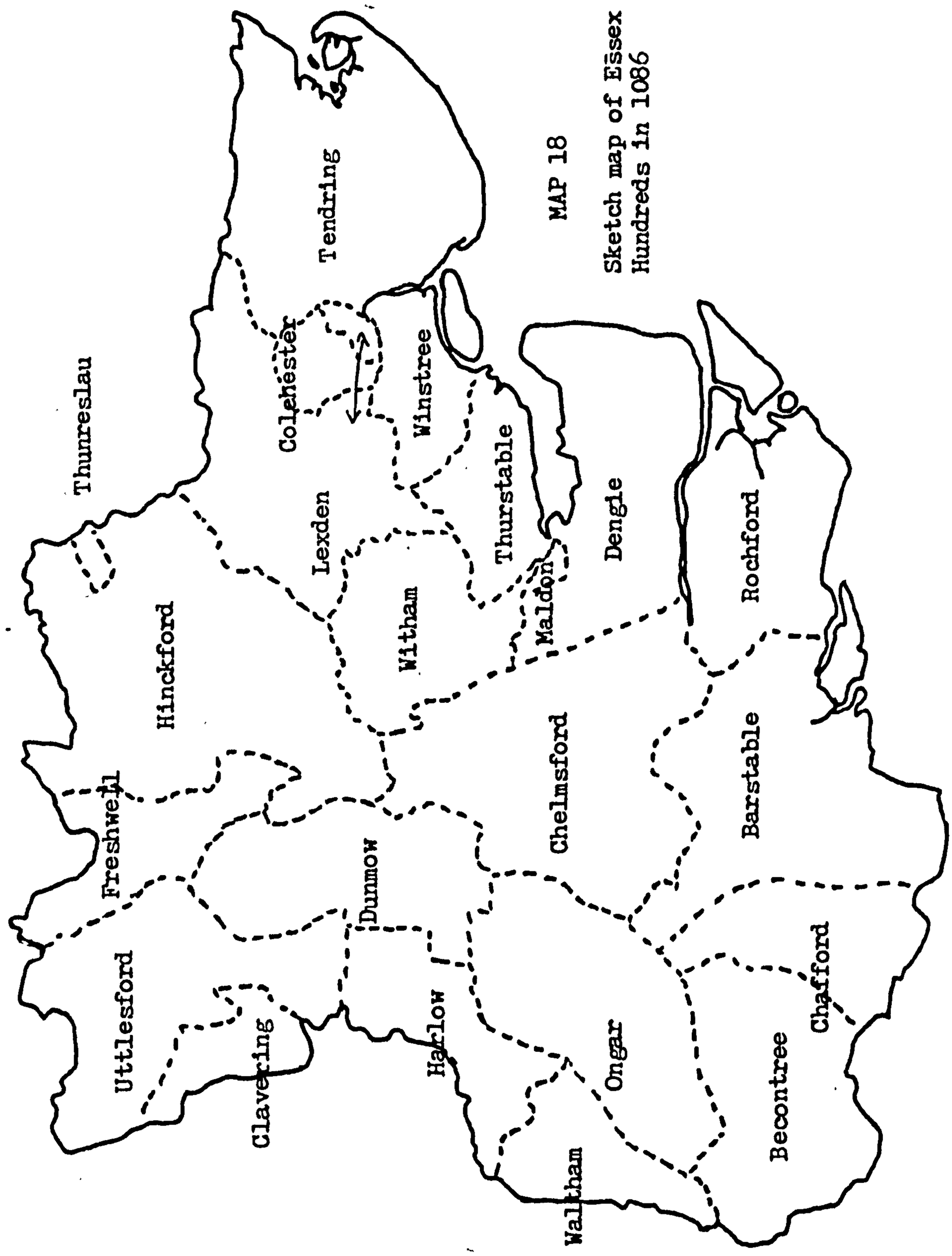
1. P H Reaney, The Place-Names of Essex (1935).
2. VCH Ex iv, 1-8.
3. Waltham VCH Ex v, 93-96; Becontree, same vol 181-183, Chafford, ibid vii, 99-102, Harlow, ibid viii, 110-113.
4. The best maps of the Essex hundred boundaries are Round's in VCH Ex i, between 426 and 427; R W Finn's in The Eastern Counties (1967), p xiv; H C Darby's in Domesday Geography of Eastern England (1971), p 210. Maps in this study have been compiled using these sources, and Chapman and Andre's 1777 A Map of the County of Essex.

Aspects of the Hundreds of Essex - i. Size and shape

Map 18 (page 208) shows the boundaries of the shire's hundreds in 1086,[1] and demonstrates that they varied greatly in size, shape, and area. There would appear to be more differences than similarities between Chafford and Barstable, the former having been only about one third of both the area and hid age of the latter.[2] Hinckford, however, had only half of the hid age of Barstable, yet covered a much larger area on the ground.[3] To the Domesday scribes however, each of these very different units was a hundred.

The variation in the extent of hundreds was matched by the great variety in their shape. The most regular were the five coastal hundreds (Tendring, Winstree, Thurstable, Dengie, and Rochford) which were in the main delimited by water. The remainder were more irregular with salients and other features in their boundaries which suggest that they had been altered. In some cases the unevenness of hundred boundaries resulted from them following those of parishes, which explains the bulge into Lexden from Tendring caused by the expansion of Ardleigh into the parish of Mile End.[4] In the west of the shire there were instances of parts of a parish lying in different hundreds, whilst several hundreds have small, detached portions.[5]

1. Including the boroughs of Colchester and Maldon, but disregarding the division of Dengie and Uttlesford, for which see further below, pp 224ff, and 232ff.
2. For details of hid ages see Table 17, p211.
3. Christy, art cit, 185, stated that Hinckford hundred covered one ninth of the shire.
4. W and K Rodwell, Historic Churches, a wasting asset (1977), p 94.
5. See for example the map of Ongar hundred, VCH Ex iv, 3.



MAP 18

Sketch map of Essex
Hundreds in 1086

Study of Map 18 (page 208) suggests that in the north west of Essex major changes had occurred by 1086 in the number and shape of the hundreds in that part of the shire. The evidence from the boundaries gives strong support for Round's theory that Clavering was carved out of Uttlesford, and it seems likely that the northern half of Dunmow was formed from parts of Uttlesford and Freshwell. Freshwell itself appears to have been taken in part of the west end of Hinckford, which also lost another small area when Thunreslau was cut out of it. The strange shapes of Waltham and Harlow might suggest that they had lost area to Ongar, and Dunmow.[1]

Further south and east morphological changes are harder to detect, and do not appear to have been so extensive. The relationship between Witham and Thurstable is of interest since it appears that the latter has eaten into the south-eastern corner of the former. Similarly, it appears likely that Winstree was cut out of the southern part of Lexden. It is clear that Colchester hundred was taken out of Lexden, and Maldon from Dengie. The implications of these and other changes in the number and boundaries of the Essex hundreds will be considered further after other aspects of them have been examined.[2]

1. An alternative view of the place of Harlow and Waltham in the evolution of the Essex hundred pattern will be suggested below, pp 236ff.
2. Below, p 240.

Turning from the changes in the number and size of the Essex hundreds that their boundaries suggested occurred between their establishment and 1086, it is of interest to consider next their geld assessments (Table 17, page 211). Only two of the twenty rural hundreds had hidages which were divisible by 50, although there were 11 others which were within 10% of 100, 200, 250, and 300 hides.[1] The remainder were either exact or approximate fractions of 100, three of them being multiples of 1/6th. It is unlikely that these hundredal hidage totals calculated from the Domesday text were identical to those of the Essex geld rolls, since it is known that some estates were omitted from Domesday,[2] and in other cases no assessments were recorded for some estates that were described.[3] The accuracy of the figures in Table 17 should therefore not be exaggerated, although it is instructive to compare them with those in two extant geld rolls, those of Northamptonshire, and Wiltshire. The former, dating from the 1070s, gives the total assessments of 25 of the 28 hundreds of Northamptonshire. Of these 10 were exact multiples of 50 hides, and seven more had totals which were within 10% of being divisible by 50.[4] In the 1080s none of Wiltshire's 40 hundreds had hidages exactly divisible by 50, although a half of them (20) had totals that deviated by up to 10% from being multiples of 50.[5] The Northamptonshire figures appear to be more contrived than those of Essex and Wiltshire, the latter

1. The figures of Table 17 have been rounded to the nearest hide.
2. For example, the Waltham estate of Netteswell, see above, p 186.
3. Two estates of Harold's, Fingrith (DB ii, f 5), and White Notley (ibid, f 26b) fall into this category.
4. Printed by H Ellis, General Introduction to Domesday Book (1833), i, 184-187; and commented upon by J H Round, 'The Northamptonshire Geld-Roll', Feudal England (1895), pp 147-156, note especially the table on p 153. For a more recent edition and translation see A J Robertson (Ed), Anglo-Saxon Charters (1956), pp 231-237 (text), and 481-484 (notes). C Hart's The Hidation of Northamptonshire (1970), considers the subject in some depth.
5. There is a critical edition of the text, with English translation in VCH Wilts ii, 178-271.

Hundred	Extent (hides)	%age deviation from divisibility by 50	Fraction of 100
Maldon	2	to Wiltern or Thurstable	
Thunreslau	9	see Hinckford or Suff	1/10
Colchester	30	to Tendring	3/10
Freshwell	42	-16	3/7
Clavering	50	0	
Waltham	63	+26	5/8
Thurstable	78	+56/-22	3/4
Harlow	84	-16	5/6
Witham	91	? = Thurreslau -9	9/10
Lexden	94	-6	
Winstree	97	-3	
Ongar	103	+3	
Becontree	104	+4	
Rochford	105	+5	
Chafford	112	+12	1 1/8
Dunmow	116	+16	1 1/6
Hinckford	150	0	
Tendring	218	+9	2 1/6
Uttlesford	247	-1.2	
Chelmsford	266	+6.4	2 5/8
Barstable	303	+1	
Dengie	303	+1	

Table 17 Extents of Essex Hundreds in 1086

being the sums of the assessments of the individual estates within the hundreds.

Table 17 suggests that the 1086 hundreds of Essex can be divided into a number of groups on the basis of their hidation. Excluding the two boroughs, there were probably four hundreds of approximately 50 hides, 10 with 100, one with 150, one with 200, two with 250, and two with 300 hides. Terms such as double hundred do not occur in the Essex Domesday text, which only distinguished between hundreds and half hundreds. Six hundreds were described as half hundreds, although not very consistently, as Table 18 (page 213) shows.[1] It seems clear that Freshwell was reckoned to be a half hundred; as was Clavering, although there remains (and may have existed at the time) some doubt about its status, since it was described as a hundred on four of the ten occasions that it was mentioned. Waltham, Harlow, and Witham, although at times called half hundreds, would appear to have been reckoned as hundreds. The uncertainty over Clavering probably resulted from its position on the division between half hundreds and hundreds, since Table 18 suggests that in Essex at least a half hundred contained fewer than 50 hides, and a hundred more than 50, but not necessarily 100.

1. The figures of Table 18 are based on the hundredal headings in the Domesday text. Note that the description of the manor of Witham the administrative unit was described as a half hundred; DB ii, f 2. A similar entry for Clavering called it a hundred, ibid, f 46b, although the heading beginning the description designated it as a half hundred.

Hundred	Extent	Number of times described as Half Hundred	Hundred
Thunreslau	9 hides	2	0
Freshwell	42 hides	8	1
Clavering	50 hides	6	4
Waltham	63 hides	1	4
Harlow	84 hides	6	12
Witham	91 hides	1	19

Table 18 Essex Hundreds and Half Hundreds assessed at fewer than 100 hides.

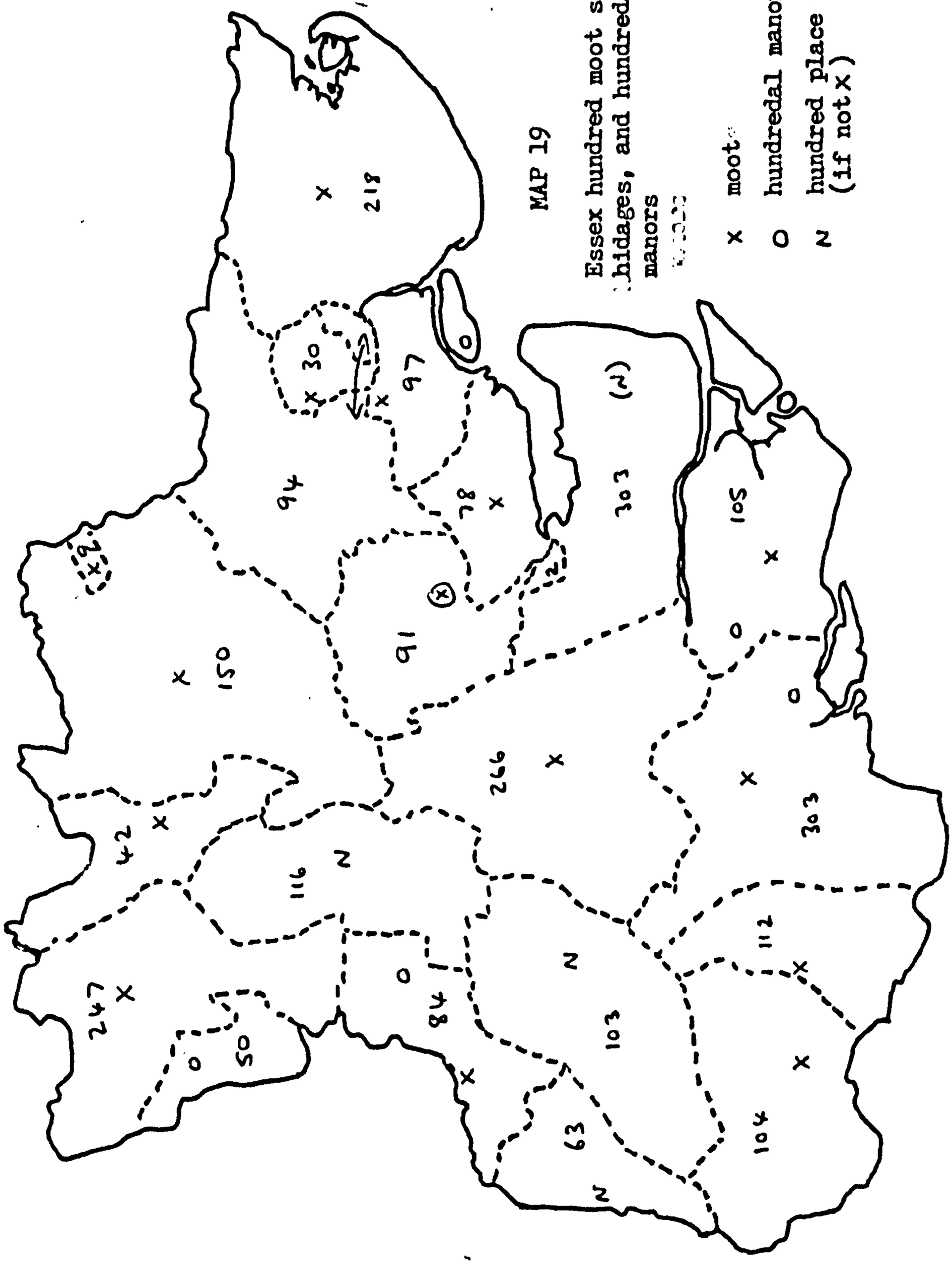
What administrative and fiscal differences existed between hundreds and half hundreds are not known. In the Wiltshire geld rolls all 40 of the hundreds were so-designated, although five of them contained fewer than 50 hides.[1] In the centuries after 1086 some of the Essex hundreds assessed at between 50 and 100 hides were down-graded to the status of half hundreds, whilst by the mid-twelfth century Becontree was described as a half hundred.[2]

1. See above, p 210 fn 5.
2. Harlow - VCH Ex iv, 5, and Witham - P Morant, The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex (1768), ii, 105, were reduced to half hundred status. For Becontree, 104 hides in 1086, see VCH Ex v, 181-2.

ii Moot sites and Hundred names

The researches of Christy, Reaney, and the Victoria County History team, make it possible to map the meeting places of most of the Essex hundred moots (map 19, page 216). Whether these meeting places were in continuous use from the tenth century is unknown, but since in most cases the names of both the hundred and its meeting place were either identical or derived from places geographically close to each other it seems likely that most of them used the same site from earliest times. In the majority of cases - Uttlesford, Hinckford, Thurstable, Tendring, Thunreslau, Chelmsford, Rochford, and Barstable - the meeting places were sited at or close to the centre of their respective hundreds. Three - Freshwell, Lexden, and Witham - may be described as off-centre, but there was a larger group - Winstree, Becontree, Chafford, and Harlow - in which the courts met close to one of the hundred's boundaries. Some of these apparently inconvenient locations might have resulted from subsequent changes in boundaries, although this is unlikely to have been the case in Becontree, Chafford, or Harlow. A more likely explanation is that some of the sites were already meeting places of folk moots before the shire was divided into hundreds, and that they continued to be used for the new hundreds created around them. This is particularly likely to have been the case in those hundreds which were named after natural features (e.g.Hinckford)[1], stakes set up to mark the moot site (e.g. Thurstable)[2], and meeting places

1. Hinckford probably means 'ford of Hedin's people', the Hedin element also appearing in the place name of (Castle) Hedingham, within which the hundred meet met at Motstowe, Reaney, op cit, pp 405,439.
2. The antiquity of the name Thurstable is attested by the fact that it means 'pillar of the god Punor', which should date it to the earliest, pagan period of East Saxon history, ibid, p 302. For the suggestion that Thurstable may not be a 'primary' Essex hundred, see below, p 240.


MAP 19
Essex hundred moot sites,
hidages, and hundredal
manors
X hundredal manor
O hundred place name
(if not X)
N moot
218
97
30
94
78
91
150
92
303 (N)
105
246
42
119
N
247
50
84
103
63
104
112
303

situated on open spaces (e.g. Becontree (Heath))[1].

There remain five hundreds for which no moot sites have yet been either suggested or accepted. Of these Clavering, Waltham, Ongar, and Dunmow all took their names from settlements, and it may be presumed that their courts met within them. It will be suggested that all four may belong to a later phase of hundredal evolution,[2] which could explain why they did not take their names from 'traditional' meeting places. It does not however follow that hundreds named after settlements are likely to have been formed late in the Anglo-Saxon period. As Table 19 (page 218) shows there were six other hundreds that took their names from settlements[3], some of which (e.g. Tendring) are likely to have been amongst the original hundreds laid out by Edward the Elder. Neither, it will be suggested, is it necessarily true that hundreds named from natural features and markers of moot sites are older than those named from settlements. Freshwell and Thunreslau are both likely to have been formed at a date closer to 1066 than 917, and apparently took their names from prominent natural features within their boundaries.

1. The name Becontree means either 'Beohha's tree', or 'beacon tree'. Becontree Heath lay within the parish of Dagenham; ibid, p88.
2. To these four should probably be added Harlow, which must be contemporary with Waltham, and close in date to Ongar and Dunmow because of the relationships between their boundaries, as described further below, p236ff. However, the Harlow moot site could well have been the site of earlier folk meetings.
3. Two of these settlements - Chelmsford, and Rochford - were named after fords, which were probably convenient places at which to hold a meeting.

Name	Moot site	Position in hundred	Hundredal manor
<u>Named from natural features etc.</u>			
Barstable	Barstable Hall, Basildon	central	?
Becontree	Becontree Heath, Dagenham	peripheral	
Chafford	Chafford Heath, Upminster	peripheral	
(Dengie)	?		
Freshwell	Little Sampford Hall	off-centre	
Hinckford	Castle Hedingham	central	
Thunreslau	Bulmer	central	
Thurstable	Tolleshunt Major	central	
Uttlesford	Mutlow Hill, Wenden's Ambo	central	
Winstree	Mustonwe Layer-de-la-Haye	peripheral	x
<u>Named from settlements</u>			
Chelmsford	Chelmsford	central	
Clavering	?	(off-centre)	x
Dunmow	?	(central)	
Harlow	Mulberry Green, Harlow	peripheral	?
Lexden	Stanway Bridge	off-centre	
Ongar	?	(off-centre)	
Rochford	Rochford	central	?
Tendring	Hundred Heath, Tendring	central	
Waltham	?	(off-centre)	
Witham	Chipping Hill, Witham	off-centre	x

Table 19 Essex hundred names, moot sites, and hundredal manors

iii Hundredal Manors

In 1086 there was a maximum of six Essex manors that included the lordship of a hundred amongst their appurtenances. The best documented is Witham, where in the Domesday description of this extensive royal manor the scribes entered the proceeds (£34) from the pleas of the half hundred after details of the demesne, and before those of the manorial sokeland.[1] Witham also had the distinction amongst the Essex hundredal manors of having the hundred moot site within its boundaries; in nearby Winstree the two were at opposite ends of the hundred, and St Ouen's Abbey, Rouen, received two-thirds of the forfeitures of the hundred of Winstree amongst other income from their West Mersea manor.[2] Suen in 1086 received 25/- annually from the pleas of the hundred of Clavering, the lordship of which was presumably appurtenant to the manor of Clavering, to which he succeeded on the death of his father.[3] Suen also had an income of 100/- from the fines taken in the hundred court of Rochford. The lordship of this hundred was later connected with the manor of Rayleigh, the centre of Suen's estates, but it is not certain that they were related in 1066.[4] The lordship of the neighbouring hundred of Barstable in 1242 was amongst the appurtenances of 2 carrucates of land in Bowers Gifford.[5] Cam suggested that 2

1. DB ii, f 2; H M Cam, 'Manerium cum hundredo, the Hundred and the Hundredal Manor', EHR 47 (1932), 368 noted that the only "clear statement in Domesday Book that a hundred is annexed to a manor" in Essex was this reference to Witham.
2. DB ii, f 22. See also the discussion above on Mersea and its pre-1066 history, p134.
3. DB ii, f 46b; see also below, pp221-224.
4. DB ii, f 45b; Morant, op cit, i, 263; H M Cam, 'The'Private' Hundred before the Conquest', in J C Davies (Ed), Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson (1957), p 58, suggested that Robert held the hundred before 1066, although Domesday does not record who held Rayleigh in 1066.
5. R E G Kirk (Ed) Feet of Fines for Essex i (1904), 143.

hides held there in 1086 by Grim the Reeve (101) were identical to the thirteenth century holding, and that this was another pre-Conquest instance in Essex of manerium cum hundredo. The case can however scarcely be said to have been proved.[1] The possibility that the lordship of the half hundred of Harlow was an attribute of the manor of Hatfield Broad Oak is more likely. Hatfield was an ancient royal manor, which Henry III granted with the lordship of Harlow hundred to Isabel Bruce.[2] However, as in Winstree, the moot site and hundredal manor were not particularly close together.

1. Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo' 335-6. If the lordship of the hundred was part of this estate it is of interest to note that in 1086 they were both held by a reeve - DB ii, f 98. However, since Domesday does not record any income from the hundred being received by Grim it seems unlikely that he was the lord of Barstable in 1086.
2. VCH Ex viii, 112; Morant, op cit, ii, 482, 502; Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo', 355, and 'Private Hundreds', p 58 cites DB ii, f 2 to support her claim that Harlow hundred was dependent on Hatfield, but there is no mention of the hundred in the Domesday description of the manor.

iv Private lordship of Hundreds

The financial rewards that accrued from the lordship of a hundred are recorded on four occasions in the Essex Domesday text. Two of the hundreds concerned, Clavering and Rochford, were held in 1086 by Suen; Winstree belonged to St Ouen, and Witham was farmed by the sheriff. The lordship of the first three had been granted by the crown to their owners, either as an appurtenance of a once-royal manor, or as separate donations. Whilst it is possible to deduce that some of these lordships may have been privately held before the Norman Conquest, Domesday does not give any explicit information on the private holdings of hundreds before 1086. This deficiency is not restricted to Essex, as study of Cam's paper on pre-Conquest private hundreds reveals.[1] The suspicion must inevitably arise that there may have been other hundreds held by private individuals and religious institutions which are now unrecognised because their lordships are not recorded in any surviving documents.

It is difficult to believe that Robert fitz Wimarc, the 10th largest Essex landholder in 1066 (Table 15, page 155), and St Ouen's Abbey, were the only possessors of private hundreds in 1066 Essex, even allowing for the favour which they enjoyed from Edward the Confessor.[2] Yet this is what Domesday implies, since Suen was the only 1086 tenant-in-chief who had received from his pre-Conquest antecessor (his father) with his estates

1. Art cit, pp 57-60. The majority of the private hundreds listed there were included because they were later appurtenant to a manor.
2. As noted above, p p 79 ff, 134.

the lordship of a hundred.[1] Interestingly none of the ecclesiastical institutions with large accumulations of Essex land held any hundreds, so it may be after all unlikely that their lay counterparts did either.[2]

The two preceding paragraphs have reviewed the restricted nature of the private tenure of hundreds which the surviving documentary evidence suggests. These conclusions do not however appear to agree with the impressions gained from a study of the hundred boundaries. It has already been suggested that Clavering, and Thunreslau were cut out of larger hundreds, and that Dunmow, and Ongar are intrusions into an earlier pattern of hundred boundaries. If Clavering was formed for Robert's benefit it is difficult to conceive of any other reasons which could explain the creation of other secondary hundreds, notwithstanding the fact that Domesday does not support the view that they were held by anyone other than the crown. In addition it is necessary to consider the so-far unexplained phenomenon of the division of both Uttlesford and Dengie, recorded in Domesday, and first discussed fully in print by Fowler.

In Chapter 5 it was suggested that landed wealth probably brought with it political power, which before the Conquest was most obviously manifested locally in the private holding of the lordship of hundreds. It may be possible to resolve

1. It may be that William specifically excluded the lordship of hundreds from the possessions of tenants-in-chief's pre-Conquest antecessors. Robert was alive for at least 10 years after the Conquest, so Suen could have succeeded him on his death, thus evading the regulations of the 1060s, and making him the exception to prove the rule.
2. P J Taylor, 'The Estates of the Bishopric of London', (1976), p 101, noted that the Bishops of London failed to acquire the lordships of any hundreds before 1066.

the apparent contradictions between the evidence of Domesday on the one hand, and the hundred boundaries on the other, by considering the patterns of land tenure in seven hundreds which appear likely to throw some light on the difficulty. They are considered now in alphabetical order, beginning, fortuitously, with Clavering.

1 Clavering

The total assessment of the holdings within this half hundred was 50 hides 15 geld acres, 0.36% in excess of the precise half hundred figure of 50 hides. This fact strongly underlines its contrived nature, and supports Round's suggestion that Clavering was carved out of Uttlesford for the benefit of Suen, or perhaps more likely, Robert, his father.[1] The only estate that Robert held in the hundred was the 15 hide manor of Clavering itself, around which Edward the Confessor grouped a number of other holdings to form Robert's half hundred. It was presumably the desire to get as close as possible to the 50 hide figure which led to the separation of the manors and hamlets of Henham and Stanstead Mountfitchet from the rest of their respective parishes which remained in Uttlesford hundred.[2] The likelihood that Robert built Clavering Castle is an added reason for believing that the half hundred of the same name was formed for his benefit.[3] Robert was still alive in 1076, and Suen was sheriff in 1075 if not before,[4] so both father and son were important men in Essex in the 1070s. Suen built

1. In VCH Ex i, 407.
2. Morant, op cit, ii, 568 fn N; and 578 respectively.
3. VCH Ex i (1903), 345; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle sub anno 1052; see also above, pp 79ff.
4. H W C Davies and A J Whitewell (eds) Regista Regum Anglo-Normanorum 1066-1154, i (1913), Nos 84-87, 163, and 209 are documents addressed by William to Robert and Suen.

his castle at Rayleigh between 1066 and 1086, and it seems that he developed for himself a power base in south east Essex in much the same way that Robert had done in the north west of the shire before the Conquest.

ii Dengie

Dengie appeared twice in the hundredal order of the Essex Domesday folios, and Fowler suggested that in 1086 it was divided into two - a western part consisting of the parishes of Little Maldon, Mundon, Latchingdon, and Cricksea; and an eastern section comprising Lawling, Steeple, Southminster, and Burnham.[1] Study of the Domesday text suggests that the 'eastern' hundred included Asheldham, Bradwell, Burnham, Dengie, Lawling, Southminster, Steeple, Tillingham, and St Lawrence; and the 'western' hundred comprised Cold Norton, Cricksea, North Fambridge, Hazeleigh, Mundon, Latchingdon, Little Maldon, Purleigh, Stow Maries, Woodham Walter, and Woodham Mortimer. Althorne, and Mayland, the other two parishes of the hundred, do not appear by name in Domesday as they were included within the Bishop of London's 30 hide Southminster manor,[2] and so would have been included in the 'eastern' hundred. The only geographical difficulty arising from the division proposed here is that Cricksea would have been separated from the rest of the 'western' hundred by Althorne and Latchingdon.

1. Fowler, art cit, 186. For the order of the hundreds within the fiefs of the Essex Domesday text see Round's remarks in VCH Ex i, 409-10.
2. DB ii, f 10; see above, p129 for the mid-eleventh century history of the estate, and note also Morant's account, op cit, i, 369.

A study of the distribution of the estates held by major landholders in the two Dengie hundreds has not produced any obvious explanation of why Cricksea should have been detached in this way from the 'western' hundred.[1] Neither do any obvious contenders emerge as the political leaders in either of them in 1066. In the west the position was finely balanced. Godwine (92) the king's thegn had 10 hides,[2] Sigeweard of Maldon (157) 10½[3], and Leofwine Cilt (132), 8½[4], To the east it would appear that a similar position obtained. If (as seems likely) the king held Southminster in 1066 he had 30 hides, and was the largest landholder.[5] The canons of St Paul's had 20 hides at Tillingham[6], and the community at Canterbury Cathedral 17 at Lawling, and St Lawrence.[7] Sigeweard had a total of 23½ hides at Bradwell, and Steeple.[8]

The division of the hundred created two units, in neither of which did any one landholder have appreciably more land than any other. If this state of affairs was the aim of the division it seems to imply that within the hundred as a whole there was an individual or institution who had sufficient wealth to overawe the hundred court. There can be little doubt that the overmighty subject was Sigeweard, who held estates assessed at a total of 34 hides,

1. There were two holdings in the parish, one of ½ hide held in 1066 by Leofric (124), DB ii, f 23b; and the other which was held by Alweard (11), and assessed at 1 hide.
2. At Mundon, DB ii, f 49b.
3. His estates were at Little Maldon, and Woodham Mortimer, ibid, f 73 bis.
4. At Purleigh, ibid, f 86b bis.
5. Ibid, f 10.
6. Ibid, f 13.
7. Ibid, f 8 bis.
8. Ibid, f 74 bis.

4 hides more than the king, and much more than the next largest holders (St Paul's) with only 20. If the division had occurred shortly before 1066 then there can be little doubt that it was carried out to preserve from the influence of Sigeweard the independence of local administration in the Dengie peninsula.[1]

This system of checks and balances was however upset by the return of Southminster to Bishop William by the Conqueror. Major changes in the administration of the hundred occurred during the Norman period, in particular between 1154-61, and 1185 when its name was changed from Wihtbeorht's corner to Dengie.[2] The history of the manor of Dengie itself during this period is obscure. It was forfeited to the crown in 1082 on Odo of Bayeux's disgrace, and granted out again during the reign of Henry II (1154-89).[3] By the 1180s the two hundreds had been amalgamated, and the meetings of the court held within the manor of Dengie, which lay a little to the east of the centre of the former 'eastern' hundred. At his death in 1289 Henry de Cram'-aville held the manor of Dengie by service of, amongst other things, "suit at the King's Hundred Court at Danesey"(sic) every three weeks.[4]

1. The retention in the king's hands of Southminster may have been in part motivated by the desire to maintain a strong royal presence in the strategically important coastal area, where there were in 1066 no royal manors.
2. The last known reference to Wibrihtesherne occurs in a document of 1154-1161 in which Henry II freed a number of the estates of St John's Abbey Colchester from the payment of geld; S A Moore (Ed), Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colcestria (1897), i, 19. The first mention of the hundred of 'Danesie' is to be found in The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-First Year of the Reign of Henry the Second A.D. 1184-1185, Pipe Roll Soc xxxiv (1913), 16. See Reaney, op cit, pp 207-208 for a discussion of the forms of the names of the hundred.
3. In Domesday there are described two estates named Dengie, one of 2½ hides held in 1086 by St Walery (ff 21-21b), and another of the same extent held of Odo of Bayeux by one of his knights (f 24).
4. Morant op cit, i, 369; he also noted that the hundred was named from 'a capital parish where the Hundred Courts were held', ibid, 327.

iii Dunmow

It has already been suggested that the northern portion of this hundred was formed from the southern parts of Uttlesford and Freshwell, whilst to the south of Stane Street the salient into Ongar gives added weight to the belief that Dunmow was an intrusion into a pre-existing pattern of hundred boundaries. There is no historical evidence that the lordship of the hundred was ever granted by the crown, which implies that it was created before the Conquest for the benefit of someone, although it is not obvious who. In 1086 the extent of this hundred was 116 hides and 2 geld acres, approximately 1 1/6 of 100, and included Wimbish (later part of Uttlesford), and Roding Morell.[1]

The tenurial picture in 1066 was complex since the hundred contained a large number of small holdings, and only two manors assessed at more than five hides. The Abbey of Ely had seven holdings in Dunmow hundred, although four of them were let. Their manor of High Easter had been seized by Asgeirr (20), and although valued at £20 in 1066, and £30 twenty years later, was only assessed at two hides.[2] Four of the nine laymen who in 1066 had more than seven Essex holdings were landholders in Dunmow, and the largest amount of land held by an individual was Asgeirr's 14 hides and 31 geld acres.[3] His closest rival was Wihtgar (183), who had

1. For Wimbish see Morant, op cit, ii, 558. The parish of Roding Morell was united with White Roding, both of which were within the boundaries of the hundred of Dunmow. However, according to Morant the inhabitants of Roding Morell 'do their suit and service to the Leet belonging to the Hundred of Harlow', ibid, ii, 471.
2. VCH Ex i, 509 fn 4; see also above p 63.
3. Asgeirr's Dunmow hundred manors were High Easter, 2 hides (DB ii, f 60); Bigods, 4 hides 10 acres (ibid, f 61); Lt Dunmow, 1½ hides (ibid, f 61); White Roding, 2 hides (ibid, f 61b); Dunmow, ½ hide 15 acres (ibid, f 61b); Lt Canfield, ½ hide 16 acres (ibid, f 61b); Roding, 2 hides less 10 acres (ibid, f 61b). Shellow Bowells, 1½ hides (ibid, f 61).

land assessed at 11½ hides.[1] It would appear then that Asgeirr was the chief political force in the hundred in 1066 - how else could he have 'invaded' Ely's most valuable Essex estate? Whether the hundred was already in existence, or formed for his benefit before or after this depredation occurred is not obvious.

iv Freshwell

After Thunreslau, Freshwell was the smallest of the Essex hundreds, with a total assessment of 42 hides. Its shape and relationship to neighbouring hundreds suggest that it may have been created specifically for someone's benefit. If this was the case its lordship did not remain in private hands after the Conquest as it was always referred to as a royal hundred in surviving documents.[2] The largest amount of land in Freshwell held by an individual in 1066 was Wihtgar's (183) 12½ hides of demesne.[3] To these may be added a hide held by two of his servants at Bardfield Saling, and the 30 acres at Bendish Hall in Radwinter which he invaded "after the king came into this country".[4] The well from which the hundred took its name lay within the boundaries of Little Sampford, his largest Freshwell estate.[5]

1. His estates were at Thaxted, and Dunmow, DB ii, f38b bis.
2. Morant, op cit, ii 518.
3. This was divided between three holdings - Great Bardfield, 4 hides; Little Sampford; 5 hides; and Hempstead, 3½ hides, DB ii ff 41, 41b.
4. For Bardfield Saling see DB ii, f 41b; and Bendish Hall, ibid, f 102b.
5. The location of the Moot site is discussed by Christy, art cit, 186-188.

v Ongar

With its 103 hides this hundred came as close as any in 1086 Essex to comprising the notional figure of 100, and in common with its northern neighbour, Dunmow, took its name from a parish near its centre. The map of the hundred in the Victoria County History shows that later, if not in 1066, a number of areas within the boundaries of Ongar hundred were detached portions of other hundreds.[1] In the mid-twelfth century the Honour of Ongar was created for Richard de Lucy, and in his account of its formation Round suggested that the castle at Ongar may have been built by Eustace of Boulogne, and formed the caput of his Essex holdings. He further remarked that Eustace's lands were held before the Conquest by a number of Saxons, and implied that there was no obvious political leader in the hundred in 1066.[2] This indeed seems to have been the case, since none of the major Essex landholders had estates there in 1066.

It is tempting to believe that Ongar hundred was formed after the Conquest for Eustace's benefit although there is no evidence that he ever held its lordship. Moreover, the boundary evidence does not support this view, and it seems more likely that it was created for an unknown magnate earlier in the Anglo-Saxon period. By 1066 he had died, and the tenurial pattern had completely changed.

1. Hastingwood, and Thornwood in North Weald Bassett were part of Harlow Hundred, and Bird's Green in Beauchamp Roding, with a small part of Abbess Roding were reckoned to be in Dunmow Hundred; VCH Ex iv, 3. There is a discussion on the later components of the hundred, ibid, 2-5.
2. J H Round, 'The Honour of Ongar', TEAS, ns vii (1898), 142-145, esp 142-143. Also mentioned in VCH Ex iv, 5, where attention is drawn to the fact that the lordship of Ongar Hundred was included in de Lucy's grant.

vi Thunreslau

Round's view of the place of Thunreslau in the history of the Essex hundreds was that it represented "a possible survival from an earlier period than that at which the great Hundreds by which it is surrounded assumed their present form".[1] Christy subscribed to this opinion,[2] but as study of the map of hundred boundaries demonstrates it seems more likely that Thunreslau was cut out of Uttlesford. Its total geld assessment was only 8½ hides and 15 acres, making it the smallest of the Essex rural hundreds. Although the name (meaning Thunor's hill) was still in use in the thirteenth century, as an independent administrative unit it probably did not last long into the Norman era.[3]

In 1086 the three estates which comprised the half hundred were held by Aubrey de Vere, and Peter de Valognes.[4] In 1066 they were also divided between two lords - Wulfwine (199) held Belchamp, and Bulmer (5 hides 15 acres), and AElfric (32) 3½ hides at Ballingdon. If the person for whom the hundred was created was still alive in 1066 he must have been Wulfwine, who held a number of estates in Essex, but they were too scattered to bring him any real political power. Christy suggested that the hill from which the half hundred took its name was Ballingdon Hill, (290'), from which all three of the estates within it could be seen.[6]

1. VCH Ex i, 406.
2. Christy, art cit, 196, where he added that Thunreslau might have been one of the eighty small hundreds that Rickword believed Essex was once divided into. Rickword's article, 'The Kingdom of the East Saxons and the Tribal Hidage' (TEAS ns xi, 246-265) was designed to reconcile the assessment of the tribal hidage with the Essex Domesday data, and discover the 5-hides units which Round had said were conspicuous by their absence in Essex. Rickword's efforts received a characteristic dismissal by Round 'The Domesday Hidation of Essex', EHR 29 (1914), 477-8.

3. The meaning of the name is considered by Reaney, Place Names, p 418; and he commented on later references to it in his note 'Thunreslau', TEAS ns xix (1927), 63. Fowler suggested that Hinckford became a hundred and a half (as it was towards the end of the reign of Henry II) after Thunreslau had been absorbed into it.
4. Aubrey's was Belchamp Walter, assessed at 4 hides 15 acres, DB ii, f 77; and Peter's Ballingdon, 3½ hides, and Bineslea in Bulmer, 1 hide, both described on DB ii, f 79.
5. Wulfwine's Essex estates are considered above in Chapter 3, pp 88-90. If either Peter or Aubrey held the hundred in 1086 Domesday would presumably include a reference to the income they received from its fines.
6. Christy, art cit, 196-197.

vii Uttlesford

Fowler has shown beyond reasonable doubt that in 1086 this hundred was divided along the River Cam. The earliest list of the components of the two halves dates from 1237-8, and the division was still in being 100 years later.[1] Although Round had remarked in his introduction to the Essex Domesday text on the double appearance of Uttlesford in the Essex hundredal order,[2] it was left to Fowler to suggest that the thirteenth century division that he noted went back to Domesday and possibly beyond. There are three references in the Essex Domesday to West Uttlesford hundred,[3] but was the division an ancient one, or was it made shortly before 1066, and for reasons similar to those advanced to explain the splitting of Dengie?

In 1066 both royal and church estates were well represented in East Uttlesford, the largest royal estate being Earl AElfgar's (28) 11½ hide manor at Great Chesterford.[4] The two laymen with the most demesne land in East Uttlesford, neither of whom held any in West Uttlesford, were Asgeirr (20) with 19½ hides,[5]

1. Fowler, art cit, passim.
2. VCH Ex i, 409.
3. It is styled Wdelesforda on DB ii, f 65, and Wdelesfort ibid, ff 73b, and 94b.
4. This was an ancient royal manor, DB ii, f 3b; see also above, p 161.
5. This was the assessment of the large manor of Saffron Walden, an estate of the type mentioned the the previous note.

and Sigeweard (157) with 21½. The latter's holdings included the five hide manor of Amberden which he had appropriated from Ely Abbey.[1] In addition, Asgeirr had a sokeman of his with half a hide at Birchanger.[2]

Across the Cam in West Uttlesford the major secular landholders did not hold any estates, those with the most land being the Abbey of Ely, and the King. Ely's 25 hide manor at Littlebury was their only demesne holding in this part of the hundred, but there were two men with five hides at Strethall which they held from the abbot on terms which were very much to his advantage.[3] Harold (107) had the eight hide manor of Rickling, and another 8½ hides at Newport.[4] As the holders of the most land, it would appear that Ely Abbey was the chief force in West Uttlesford. It is likely that the creation of the eastern hundred and the gifts to Asgeirr and Sigeweard of a royal manor each, all occurred at the same time. These developments represent forceful intervention by the government in the local administration of Essex, and may be interpreted in one of two ways. Either it was motivated by the desire to shut Asgeirr and Sigeweard out of the rest of the hundred and at the same time prevent either of

1. Sigeweard also held a 'royal' manor, Debden, DB ii, f 73b. For Amberden, see ibid, f 73b, and above, p 122.
2. DB ii, f 62b.
3. DB ii, f 19; they could not withdraw from the land without the abbot's leave.
4. Both of these holdings are described on DB ii, f 7. See below, pp 260-1, for the suggestion that Newport was a burh, and had a mint.

them getting control over East Uttlesford; or the object was to limit Sigeweard's power by using Asgeirr to counteract his influence, in much the same way as the division of Dengie neutralised his power there.[1] Whether Sigeweard's seizure of Amberden occurred before or after the division of the hundred is not clear, but taken with the evidence from Dengie it looks as if the crown (in the person of Edward the Confessor?) did not wish him to become the principal landholder in any of the hundreds of Essex.

Discussion of case studies

The evidence from the case studies may be summarised as follows. In Clavering the formation of the half hundred presumably occurred at the same time as Edward granted the manor of Clavering to Robert. The hundred of Dengie was apparently divided to prevent Sigeweard being able to influence its court through the political power derived from his being the holder of the largest amount of land in the hundred. The division was carried out in such a way as to form two hundreds, in each of which Sigeweard had approximately the same amount of land as two other landholders. Dunmow hundred may have been formed for the benefit of Asgeirr, and Freshwell, it may be more confidently suggested, for Wihtgar. Ongar, as will be demonstrated shortly, had probably been formed for the benefit of an unknown landholder, but by 1066 he had died, his estates dispersed, leaving the hundred as a relic of an earlier distribution of landed

1. It is likely that Asgeirr represented the 'court' party against Sigeweard -cf above, p 84.

wealth in the area. Thunreslau represents the ultimate Essex example of a private hundred, apparently formed for Wulfwine; whilst Uttlesford seems to have been divided to reduce Sigeweard's influence within it.

The case studies suggest that the private lordship of hundreds before the Norman Conquest may have been more complex than has hitherto been realised. In addition to those, such as Robert, who held formal grants which allowed them to receive two thirds of the profits of justice, there were others who exercised a de facto control of a hundred through being able to influence the proceedings of its court as a result of holding more land within it than anyone else. The only means by which the crown could prevent this happening was to either alter the distribution of landed wealth by granting royal estates to other landholders, or by dividing the hundred into two. In Dengie, where there were no royal estates (apart from Tillingham which had been taken from St Paul's) there was no alternative but to divide the hundred if it was desired to prevent Sigeweard having control over it. In Uttlesford, where the situation was a little more complex than Dengie, it would appear that a combination of both measures was employed. Turning to a consideration of Dunmow, Freshwell, and Thunreslau, if these hundreds were created respectively for the benefit of Asgeirr, Wihtgar, and Wulfwine, it seems unlikely that they would not have received a formal, written grant of the perquisites of their hundreds, rather than just influencing the proceedings in their courts through being the largest landholders within them. If this were the case then there must have been more grants of the lordships of hundreds before the Conquest than the surviving documentary evidence would suggest. The reason for this deficiency in the archive record

is probably to be explained by the fact that like grants of land, hundred lordships were granted to laymen rather than to ecclesiastical institutions. Although based on negative evidence, this argument does receive some support from the evidence considered in Chapter 5, and is in marked contrast to the situation in neighbouring Suffolk.[1]

The development of the Hundreds of Essex to 1066

The general conclusion to emerge from the case studies of the six west Essex hundreds is that their number and shape in 1086 probably bore little resemblance to their appearance in the early tenth century. As long ago as 1922 Fowler evolved a theory to explain the development of the hundreds of Clavering, Freshwell, and Uttlesford.[2] His views are re-examined here, and Dunmow, Waltham, Ongar, and Harlow hundreds included in an analysis of the pre-1086 development of the west Essex hundreds.

In Fowler's view there were five phases of boundary changes before the three hundreds he studied assumed their 1086 shape:

1. Larger hundred of Uttlesford
2. Division into East and West
3. Formation of rural deaneries corresponding to them
4. Division of each - formation of Clavering and Freshwell half hundreds
5. Union of East and West Uttlesford

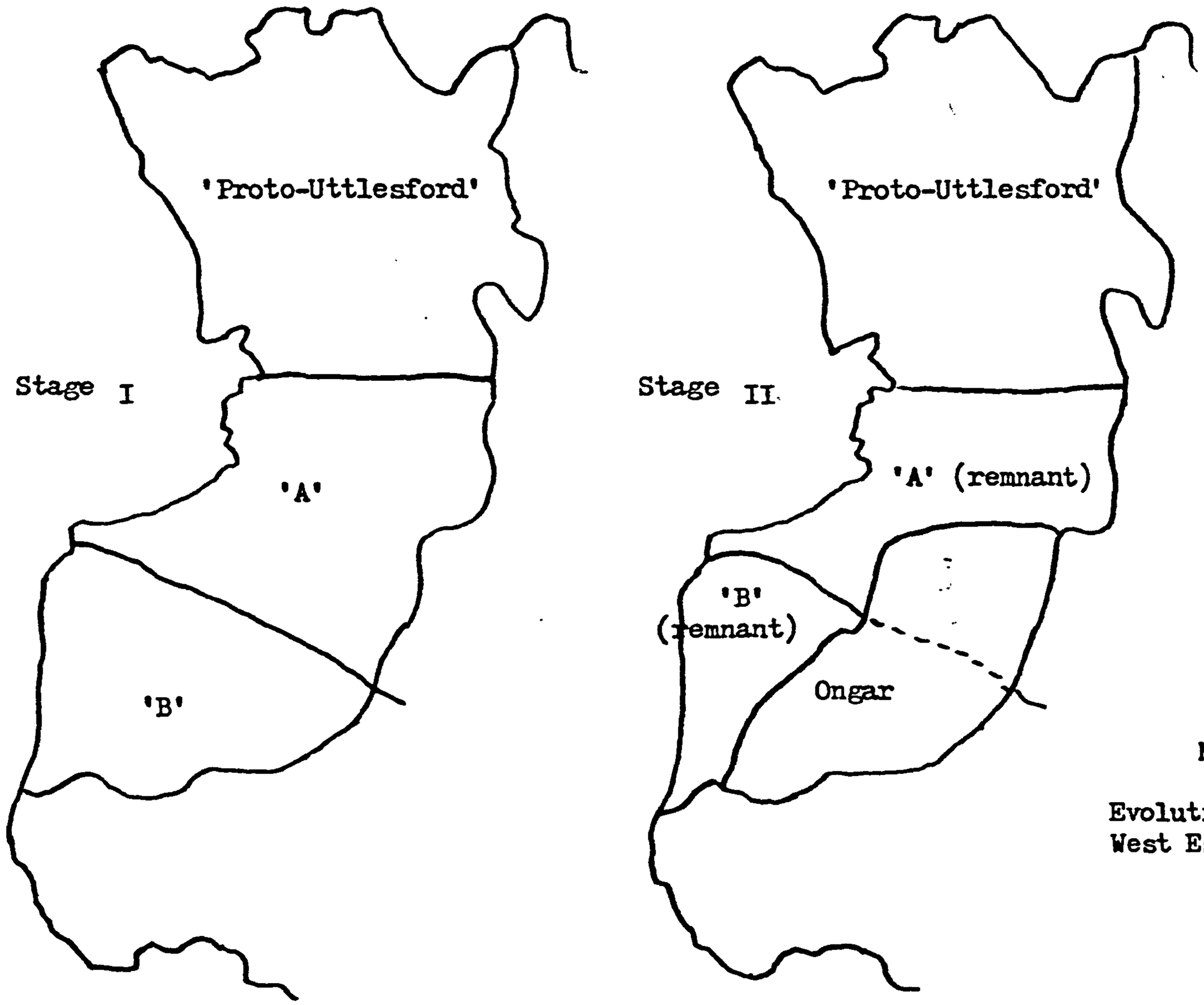
1. As noted in Chapter 6, pp 184-5 Bury Abbey held $8\frac{1}{2}$, and Ely Abbey $5\frac{1}{2}$ of the Suffolk hundreds.

2. Art cit, 185-186.

It is now known that the formation of rural deaneries did not occur until after the Conquest[1], and a more likely sequence would have been 1,4,2,3,5. Map 20 (pages 238-9) elaborates on Fowler's theory, and seeks to portray the evolution of the West Essex hundreds to 1086.

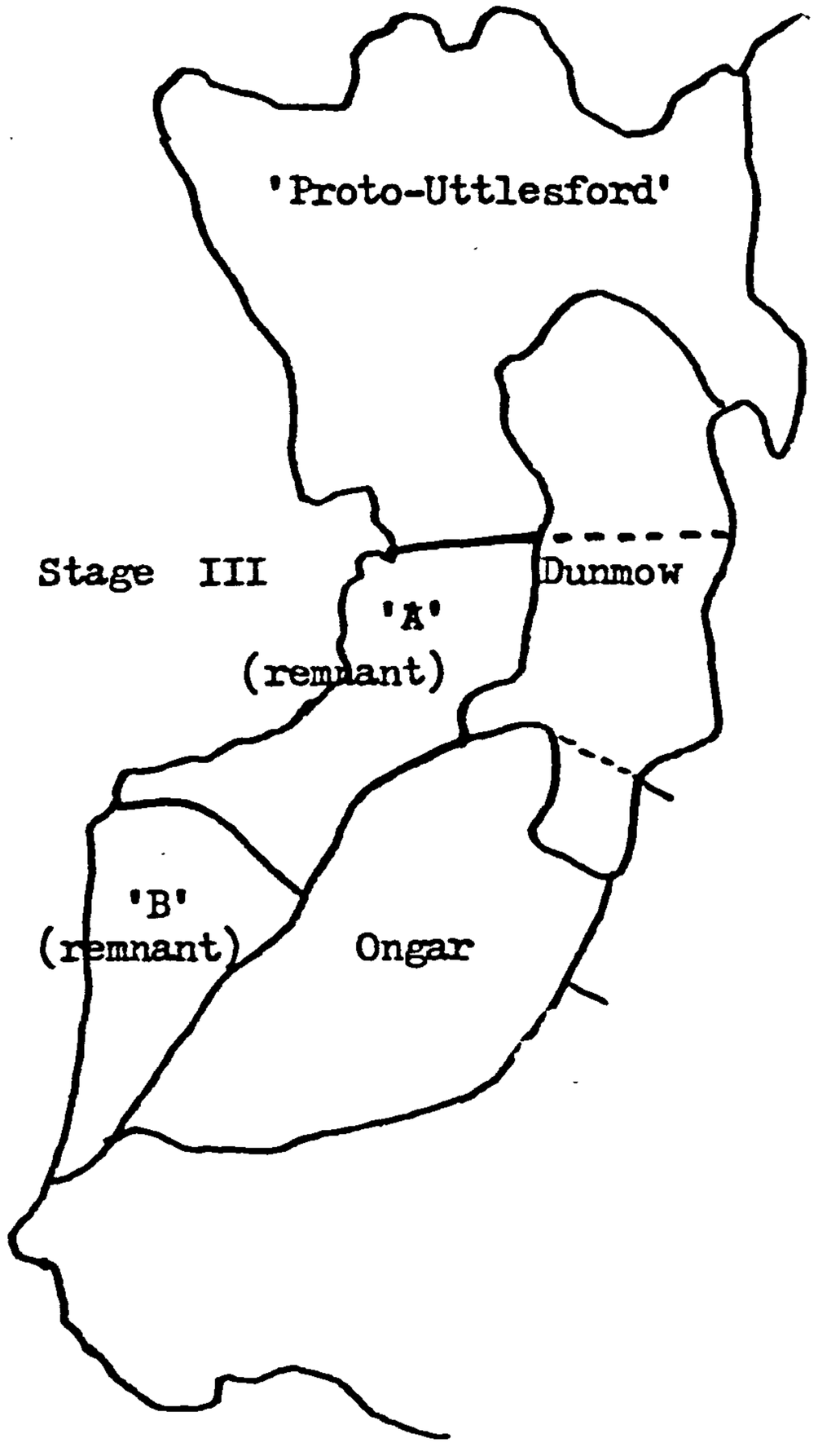
It is suggested that there were originally, in Stage I, three large hundreds - a northern "proto-Uttlesford"[2], a central one "A", with "B" to its south. The first change, in Stage II, would have been the creation of Ongar Hundred out of parts of "A" and "B", leaving two remnants (unless they were amalgamated) on the western border of the shire. This would have been followed in Stage III by the creation of Dunmow Hundred out of parts of "proto-Uttlesford" and the remnant of "A". The formation of Clavering and Freshwell in Stage IV probably prece ded the division of Uttlesford; whilst in either of Stages III or IV the remnants of "A" and "B" were organised as hundreds based on the royal manors of Hatfield Broad Oak and Waltham respectively. Finally, in Stage V, Uttlesford was divided into two. In the course of these changes the moot sites and names of both "A" and "B" were lost, and three of the new hundreds - Ongar, Dunmow, and Waltham - were named after the places to which they were dependent. Harlow took its name from its moot site. This model, based upon the evidence of boundaries, also agrees with the chronological

1. Deanesley, M Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church (1962), p 140.
2. Although part of Freshwell may have originally been included in Hinckford.

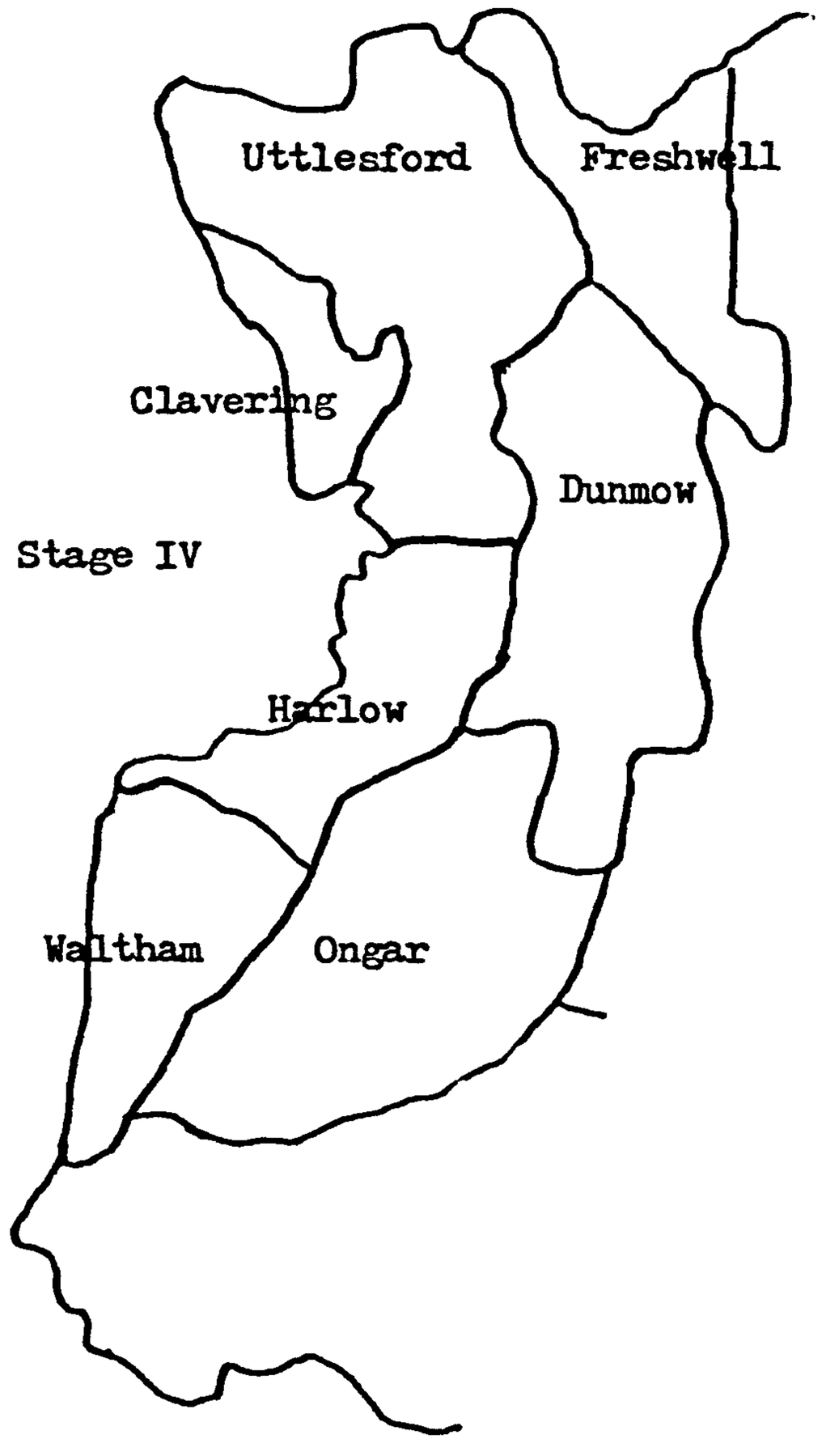


MAP 20

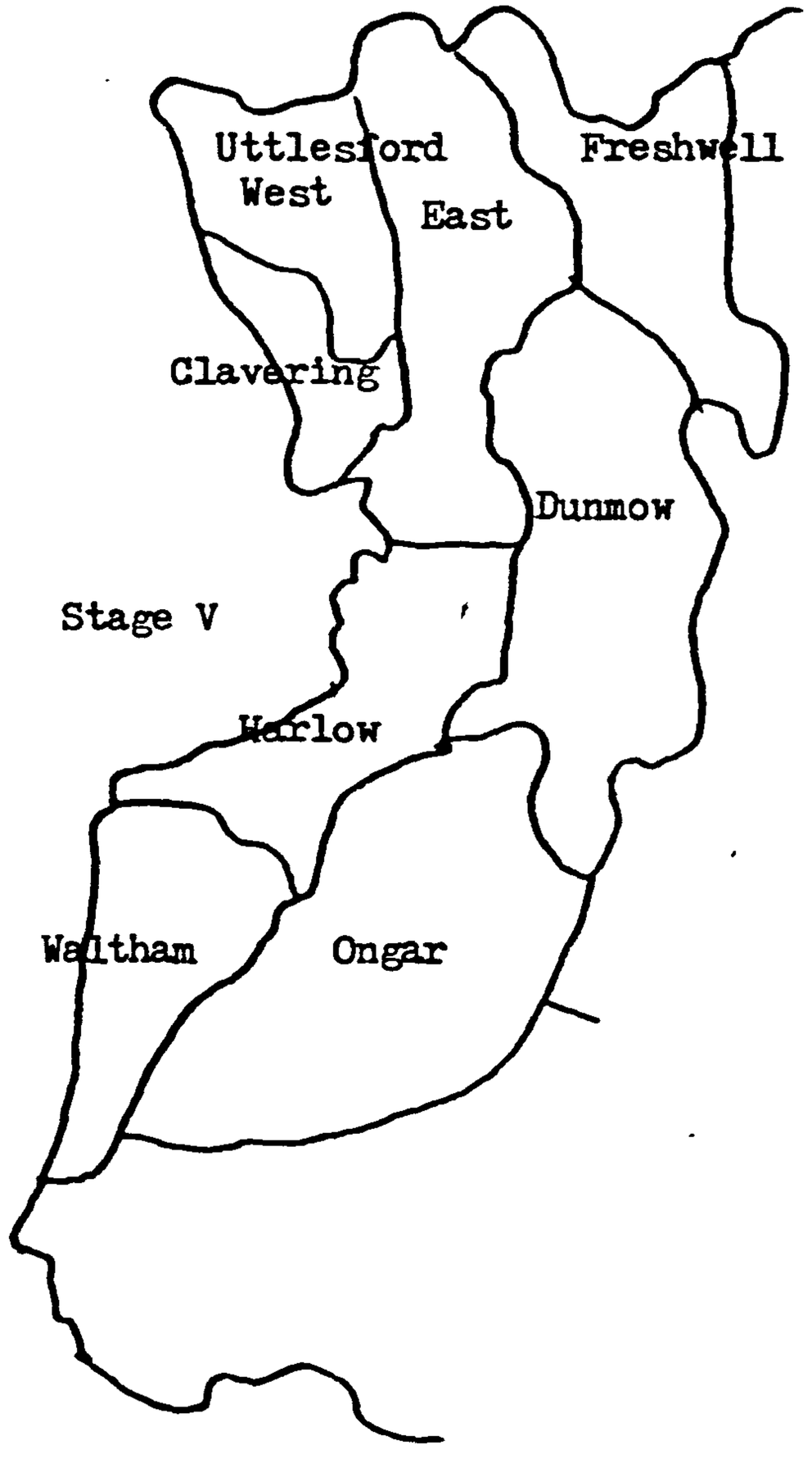
Evolution of the
West Essex Hundreds



Stage III



Stage IV



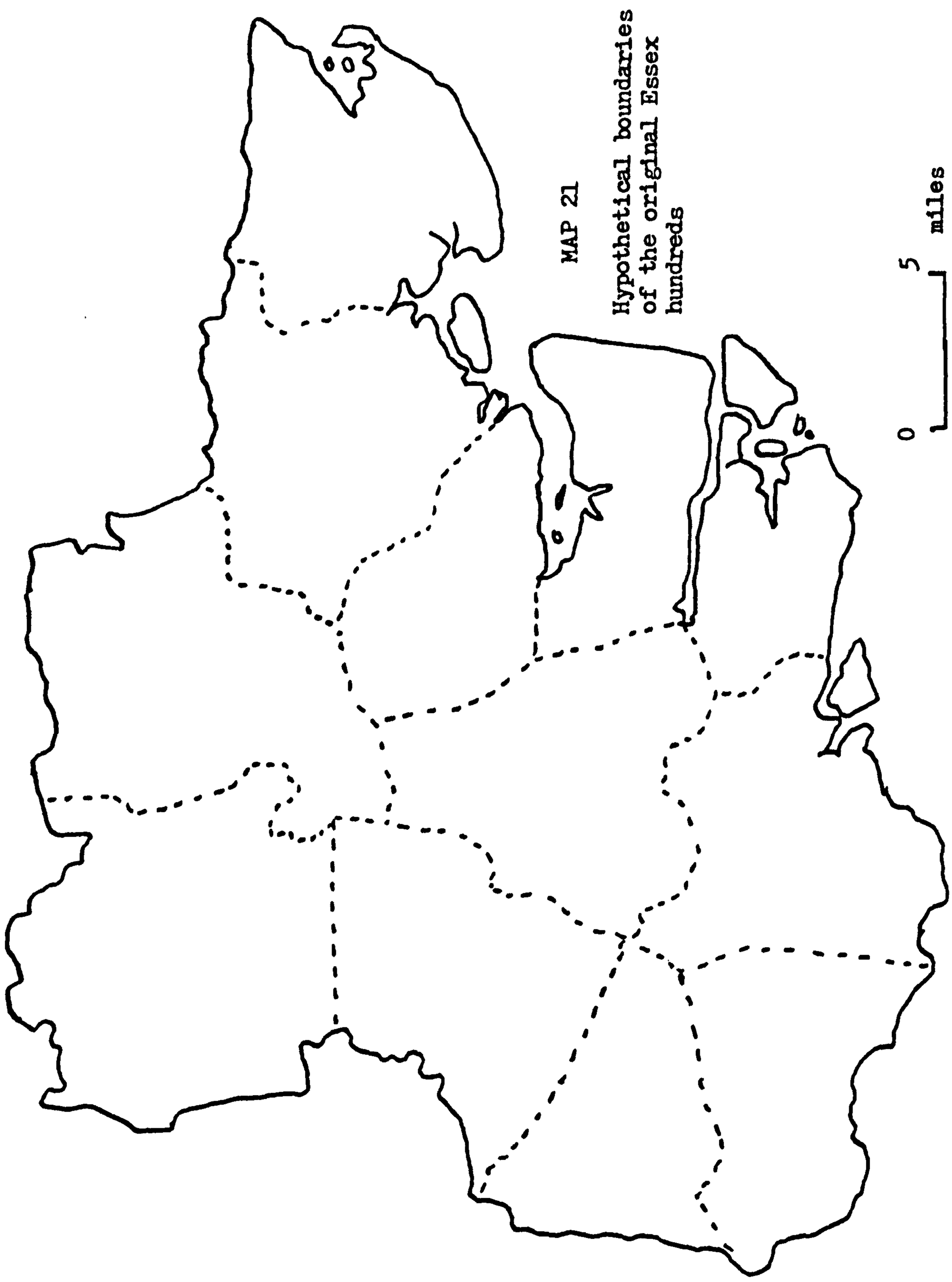
Stage V

implications suggested by the case studies of power politics within certain of the hundreds on the eve of the Norman invasion. The case studies also suggest that the changes ascribed to Stages III to V all occurred during the reign of Edward the Confessor.

The three large hundreds which it is suggested preceded the eight of 1086 were comparable in size to Hinckford, Chelmsford and Tendring. It has already been noted that there are fewer signs of changes in hundred boundaries outside west Essex, although it seems likely that some occurred in the Witham-Colchester area. Winstree and Thurstable show signs of having been carved out of the southern parts of earlier, larger versions of Witham and Lexden hundreds. In the far south west of the shire it may be that Chafford was formed from adjacent areas of larger hundreds of Becontree and Barstable. In Map 21 (page 241) these ideas are represented in a hypothetical plan of the boundaries of the Essex hundreds as they may have appeared when laid out by Edward the Elder soon after 917. As depicted there would originally have been 12 hundreds, all broadly similar in area. The details of how and why these 12 initial hundreds became the 22 of 1086 are for the most part unknown, but the model of the development of those in west Essex gives an impression of the types of changes to which some of them were subjected during the first century and a half of their history.

The Hundred Courts in Action

The earliest extant source which describes the Essex hundred courts in action is Domesday Book. In all there are 53


MAP 21
Hypothetical boundaries
of the original Essex
hundreds
0
5
miles

references in the Domesday text to evidence provided by Essex hundred juries to the Commissioners in 1086. Table 20 (page 243) shows that only four of the shire's 22 hundreds are not mentioned, and on average the remainder each occurs thrice. The Chelmsford court was exceptionally mentioned nine times, but Clavering, Harlow, and Barstable only once each. Most of the occasions upon which the testimony of the hundreds was referred to involved disputed title to estates. There are however other instances in which the jurors' views were noted, for instance over the valuation of the Bishop of Durham's manor of Waltham. The bishop's men valued it at £63/5/4d, but the hundred said it was worth £100.[1] Such cases are unusual, and the five references to the jurors of the hundreds of Uttlesford may be examined as a representative sample of the role of the hundreds in the provision of data to the Domesday Commissioners.

Three times the evidence of the East Uttlesford hundred was noted, the first reference concerning the manor of Great Chesterford.[2] Harduin de Scallariis held 1½ hides that had belonged to the royal manor there in King Edward's day, and the hundred did not know by what right he held them. Similarly, at Manhall in Saffron Walden, Geoffrey de Mandeville held a piece of land which he claimed to have received as the result of an exchange of estates.[3]

1. DB ii, f 15b.
2. Ibid, f 3b.
3. Ibid, f 62b.

Hundred	Number of references	Domesday ii folio references
Barstable	1	99
Becontree	0	
Chafford	4	16b, 24b/25, 66b, 90
Chelmsford	9	5b, 19, 25, 31b, 31b/32, 51, 54, 59bis
Clavering	1	50b
Dengie, East	0	
Dengie, West	2	53, 69
Dunmow	4	36b, 49, 61b bis
Freshwell	4	41b, 102b bis, 103
Harlow	1	60b
Hinckford	2	10, 87b
Lexden	5	10b, 30 bis, 89b, 100
Ongar	2	13/13b, 57b
Rochford	2	97b, 99b
Tendring	3	25b, 40b, 54
Thunreslau	0	
Thurstable	3	13b, 18b, 54b
Uttlesford, East	3	3b, 62b, 74
Uttlesford, West	2	7, 19b
Waltham	2	15b, 80b
Winstree	1	94b
Witham	2	2, 60

Table 20 Domesday references to Essex hundred courts

However, the Englishman who occupied the land (and who was supposed to have voluntarily become Geoffrey's man) and the hundred jurors both denied that this was the case. Finally, they supported the claim of the Abbey of Ely to Amberden in Debden, a manor held in 1066 by Sigeweard of Maldon, and in 1086 by Ranulf Peverel, and discussed above.[1] Across the Cam in West Uttlesford the hundred jurors provided information on two misdemeanours by Suen. In the first, which occurred whilst he was sheriff, Robert Gernon had taken the land of 2 sokemen that belonged to the royal manor of Newport, 'and the hundred knows not how he came to have them, for there came into the hundred neither writ nor officer (legatus) on the king's behalf (to say) that the king had given him the land'.[2] Secondly, he had allowed William Cordon, a man of Geoffrey de Mandeville's to accept 24 acres of woodland at Heydon to the injury of the Abbey of Ely.[3]

These references illustrate but one facet of the work of the hundred courts in the eleventh century. Although Domesday gives details of the income received from certain of them,[4] there is no information relating directly to the legal work of the Essex hundreds in the Anglo-Saxon or early Norman periods.

1. Ibid, f 74, and p 122.
2. Ibid, f 7. The translation is Round's in VCH Ex i, 436.
3. DB ii f 19b; see also above
4. As noted above, p 219.

Chapter 8

The burhs of Essex in the late Anglo-Saxon period

Origins

Excavations undertaken in advance of the redevelopment of many English towns in the 1960s and 70s resulted in the collection of a large quantity of archaeological data on their medieval predecessors which, in conjunction with documentary evidence has greatly advanced our understanding of urban life in the post-Roman period.[1] In Essex much of the urban archaeological work has been concentrated on Chelmsford, which did not become an important town until the late twelfth century, Colchester, and Maldon, both of which were important in the later pre-Conquest period. Whilst the excavated material from Essex towns is not as extensive as it is from elsewhere, this deficiency is to some extent lessened by the publication of a report on the historic towns of the county produced for planning purposes by the County Archaeological Section.[2] This report contains brief histories of 24 urban centres, and represents a valuable survey of the current state of knowledge of the towns of Essex, based upon historical, archaeological, and topographical evidence.

The extent and nature of any urban life that existed in what was to become Essex between the collapse of the Roman economy in the west,

1. Study of J Haslam (ed) Anglo-Saxon Towns In Southern England (1984) shows how much has been learned recently about urban centres south of the Thames. The growth in the study of historic towns owes a great deal to the work in Winchester, and Biddle and Hill's 'Late Saxon Planned Towns', Antiquaries Jnl 51 (1971), 70-85, based on work there, has revolutionised ideas about pre-Conquest Colchester, as will be demonstrated below.
2. M R Eddy with M R Petchey, Historic Towns in Essex (1983), the report mentioned by Petchey in 'The Archaeology of Medieval Essex Towns', in D G Buckley (Ed), Archaeology in Essex to 1500 (1980), p 117.

and the early tenth century are unknown. The re-emergence of organised towns in Essex appears to have resulted from Edward the Elder's campaigns against the Danes in the second decade of the tenth century. The king and his troops entered Essex in 912, and encamped at Maldon whilst a burh was constructed at Witham.[1] Once the fortification was completed the force from Maldon moved into it. Edward's need to respond to Danish attacks in the Midlands and Wessex between 913 and 915 meant that it was not until 916 that he returned to Essex, and in that year he built and garrisoned another burh at Maldon. The following year he assembled a large force, and attacked and captured the Danish fortress at Colchester, butchering the inhabitants, and seizing everything inside it. As an act of revenge a Danish army from East Anglia attempted to take Maldon, but when Saxon reinforcements arrived the siege was raised, and the retreating Danes suffered heavy casualties at the hands of both the Maldon garrison and their reinforcers. To consolidate his control over Essex Edward returned with his West Saxon levies to Colchester, and repaired the fortifications, receiving the submission of Danes from both Essex and East Anglia shortly afterwards.

1. The details of the campaign are based on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the relevant annals are dated 913, and 920-1 by C Plummer in his Two of the Saxon Chronicles in Parallel (1892), i, 96-97, 100, 102-103. The dating followed here is that of the translation edited by D Whitelock (1965), which does not agree with that of Historic Towns in Essex, p 4, where the construction of Witham is dated to 913.

The burhs at Witham and Maldon were built as fortified encampments for Edward's troops, and at both a church and triangular market place are to be found outside the burghal defences, underlining the military as opposed to civilian purpose for which they were constructed.[1] Their extra-mural settlements show signs of deliberate planning, whilst the security provided by the burh defences, and the demand for goods amongst the garrisons encouraged the early growth of mercantile communities.[2] Witham and Maldon, it may be suggested, were two 'new towns' created as a result of the eastern extension of Edward's Wessex-based realm. At Colchester the situation was a little different. Here the town was defended by its Roman walls, and there appears to have been some occupation within them before Edward captured it. He laid out new streets in an area adjacent to that previously occupied, and may have established a royal centre of some sort in the north-eastern corner of the walled enclosure.[3] Here, unlike Witham and Maldon, there was

1. They were thus different in purpose from the burhs of Wessex, which were designed to provide protection for the local population from Danish raiders. In Essex the burhs were military installations, whose object was initially to provide some protection for Edward's troops from attacks by potentially hostile local inhabitants. A classic example of an Alfredian burh in Wessex is Cricklade, for which see Haslam (ed), pp 106-110. For plans of Maldon and Witham see Historic Towns in Essex p 67, fig 27.1, and p 92, fig 36.1 respectively.
2. As such they bear a strong, if superficial, resemblance to the civil settlements (vici) outside Roman forts, a subject analysed in depth by P Salway in The Frontier People of Roman Britain (1965). It seems unlikely that Edward would have been able to maintain garrisons in the Essex burhs for any length of time, although it is to be noted that troops remained at Maldon whilst Colchester was being attacked.
3. This interpretation of the history of Colchester in the period is based on P J Drury, 'Aspects of the Origin and Development of Colchester Castle', Archaeological Jnl 139 (1982), 383-391, to which further reference will be made below.

sufficient space within the defences for civilians, administrators, and any soldiers to live side by side.[1]

The way in which these three towns prospered during the tenth and early eleventh centuries will be considered further below, but there do not appear to have been any additions to the number of urban centres in Essex until late in the Anglo-Saxon period. It has long been known that there was a mint in operation at Horndon-on-the-Hill in the 1050s,[2] and it is likely that another was in existence at Newport during the reign of Edward the Confessor.[3] There are striking similarities in the plans of these two towns since in each the parish church is set back from the main street and separated from it by a market place.[4] The possible defences of the burh at Horndon are known,[5] whilst the name of Newport - meaning 'new town' is a strong pointer to its urban status.[6] Although described as an ancient royal manor in Domesday, Newport parish is an intrusion into the pattern of boundaries to the west of the Cam, and the town probably represents an attempt to increase the revenues from the estate by using part of it for mercantile

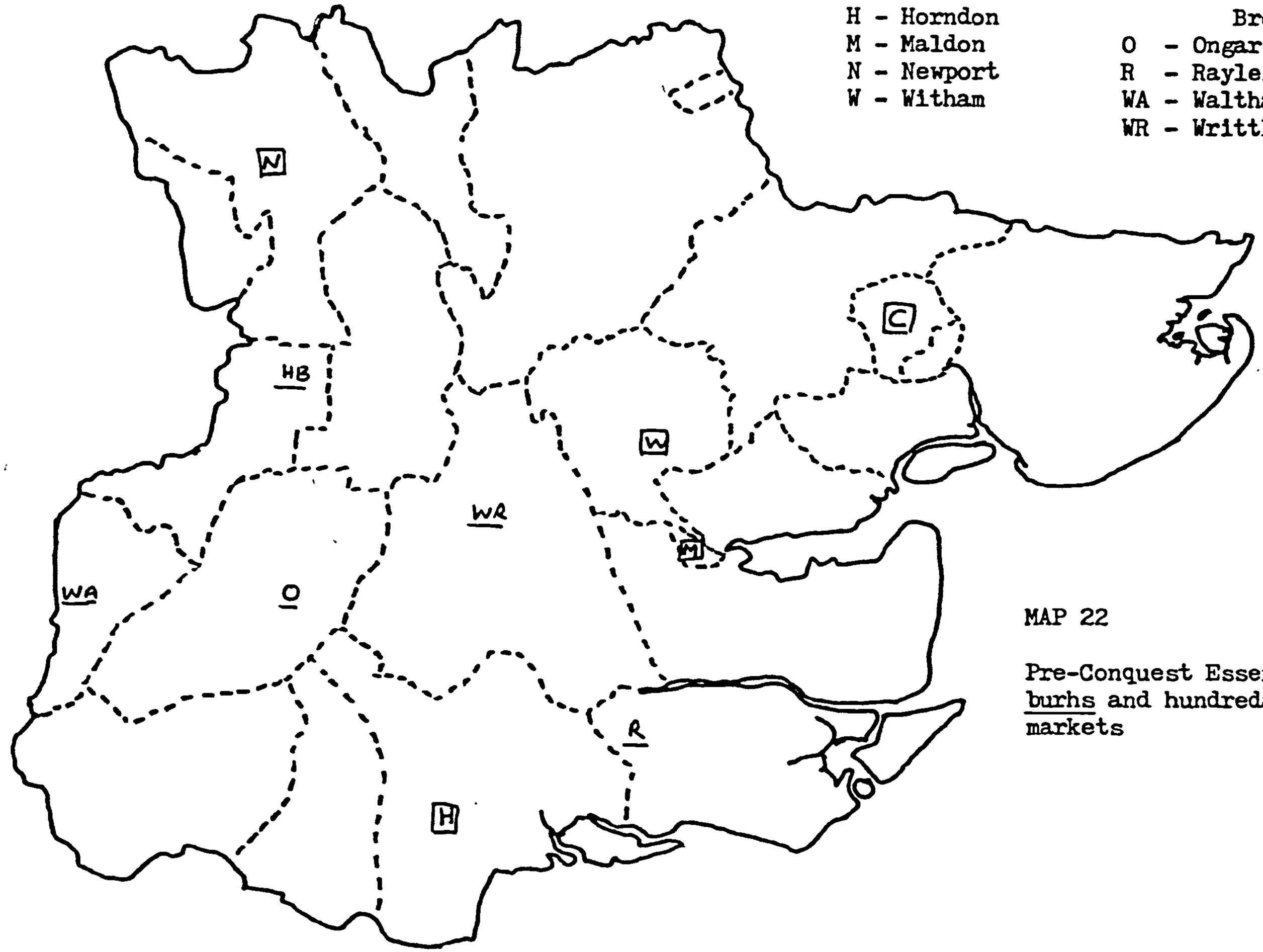
1. It is possible that under more favourable circumstances Edward would have made these burhs large enough to contain more than soldiers. At Colchester he did not have to construct the fortifications, although they did have to be maintained, and manned. The burghal fortifications at Witham incorporated part of the defensive circuit of an Iron Age hillfort, as noted in Historic Towns in Essex, p 91, and more fully in S.Morris et al 'Excavations at Danbury Camp Essex, 1974 and 1977', EAH 10 (1978), 23, and plan 26.
2. H A Grueber and C F K Keary's Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series ii (1983), records a coin of Edward minted at Horndon by Dudinc.
3. As will be demonstrated below.
4. The plans are conveniently available in Historic Towns in Essex, p 64, fig 26.1 (Horndon), and p 72, fig 29.1 (Newport).
5. There is a brief note on them in EAH 12 (1980), 71, with map on 73.
6. P H Reaney, The Place-Names of Essex (1935), p 531; Historic Towns in Essex, p 69 prefers 'new market'.

purposes.[1]

The scanty historical and numismatic evidence indicates that there were only these five burhs in Essex before 1066. It has been noted that with the exception of Colchester, the only one known to have enjoyed urban status before the tenth century, they all have market places as a prominent feature of their topography. As Map 22 (page 250) shows, the location of these burhs is such that they would have been unable to provide market facilities for large areas of Essex. R H Britnell has drawn attention to references in Domesday and later records to the holding of markets in conjunction with hundreds. In some instances the right to hold a market was included with the grant of the lordship of a hundred.[2] Britnell has suggested that although not documented until well after the Conquest, there may have been some of these 'hundredal markets' in Essex in the Anglo-Saxon period, which would help to fill the gaps between the burhs on Map 22.

In an unpublished lecture in 1971 he proposed Castle Hedingham, Hatfield Broad Oak or Harlow, Waltham Abbey, Ongar, and Rayleigh, as the possible sites of hundredal markets for the hundreds of Hinckford, Harlow, Waltham, Ongar, and Rochford respectively.[3]

1. The Domesday description of Newport is on f 7 of DB ii, and is commented upon further below. The relationship of Newport to neighbouring parishes in the Cam valley was noted by Petchey, art cit, p 113, and is clearly demonstrated in the map of the parish boundaries of the Archdeaconry of Colchester in W J and K Rodwell's Historic Churches; a wasting asset (1977), p vii.
2. In 'English Markets and Royal Administration before 1200', Economic History Review 2nd ser xxxi (1978), 183-196.
3. These market sites were suggested in an unpublished lecture in 1971, referred to in Historic Towns in Essex, p 4.



MAP 22

Pre-Conquest Essex burhs and hundredal markets

More recently, in an article published in 1978, he amended this list to Hatfield Broad Oak, Barking, Ongar, Writtle, Witham, Rayleigh, and Waltham.[1] Markets at these six places were obviously flourishing when they were first recorded in surviving documents, and since no royal licences authorising them are known, Britnell believes that they were held 'by ancient custom rather than by charter'.[2]

Four of the six hundredal markets suggested in 1978 lay within ancient royal manors - Hatfield Broad Oak, Writtle, Waltham, and Witham. It is, however, difficult to believe that a market for the hundred of Harlow would have been held at Hatfield when the moot met at Harlow, and the connection between the two places may have occurred late in the pre-Conquest period after the formation of Harlow half hundred.[3] Writtle, as the royal manor adjacent to the hundred place-name of Chelmsford may have been involved in the administration of the hundred, but if its moot met at the ford on the Chelmer it is difficult to see why a market would have been held at Writtle.[4] Witham, a burh had a market place, and is considered further below. There is nothing in the Domesday description of Waltham to suggest that it was anything other than

1. Art cit, 185 (Witham), and 186 (remainder), with details of the first known reference to markets at these places.
2. In his 'Essex Markets before 1350', EAH 13 (1981), 15.
3. For an assessment of the place of Harlow in the evolution of the pattern of West Essex hundreds see above, pp 236ff.
4. The Domesday description of Writtle is on ff 5-5b of DB ii. It may be more than a coincidence that the first reference to a market there dates from 1204, five years after the Bishop of London was granted a market at Chelmsford, 'Essex Markets....', 15, 16.

an extensive royal manor in 1066, whose future development as an urban centre depended upon the growth of the religious community planted within it.[1] Barking is not known to have been the site of a hundred moot,[2] and the connection between Rayleigh and the lordship of the hundred of Rochford is not clear - from its name it must have begun life independent of the manor which later became the site of Suen's castle.[3]

With the possible exception of Witham it is difficult to accept that if markets were held before the Conquest at the places suggested by Britnell that they were related to the administration of the hundreds within which they lay. Administratively they are more likely to have been connected with the royal manors where they were held, and although the division between burhs and royal manors was sometimes a fine one,[4] there is no evidence that any of the hypothetical Essex 'hundredal markets' sites were ever burhs, except, again, Witham.[5] For this reason the present chapter is only concerned with places known to have been burhs because they were either described as such in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, or had mints.[6] The study of markets and fairs in early Essex is hampered by the fact that there are no references to either in Domesday Book:[7] there were probably more than five

1. The Domesday description of Waltham is on f 15b of DB ii. See also above, pp 135ff for an account of the pre-Conquest history of the community at Waltham, which did not expand appreciably until the late twelfth century.
2. Barking lay within the hundred of Becontree. It was apparently included by Britnell in his list of hundredal markets because King Stephen gave to the abbey of Barking the lordships of the hundreds of Becontree and Barstable, 'English Markets...', 186 fn 9. The first reference to a market at Barking does not occur until 1219, 'Essex Markets...',15.
3. This is considered further above, p219.
4. A point discussed in detail in Britnell, 'English Markets...', p 187 ff.
5. Witham is considered further below, pp 262-3.
6. The significance of a mint as the hall mark of an Anglo-Saxon burh is developed below, pp261ff in relation to the Essex mints.
7. An observation made by, amongst others, R W Finn, Domesday Book: A Guide (1973), p 92.

markets in the shire in 1066, but how their sites are to be located is not obvious. It would be unwise to completely reject Britnell's hypothesis, although it is difficult to see how it can be developed until more research is undertaken into the Essex hundreds in the early post-Conquest period.

Burhs and mints

In the preceding section all of the pre-Conquest documentary evidence relating to towns in Essex has been considered. Domesday Book contains descriptions of the shire's burhs,[1] but apart from archaeology the only other source of information to augment this meagre record is that provided by numismatics. Since many Anglo-Saxon coins record both the moneyer reponsible for their issue, and the burh where they worked, it is possible to reconstruct the histories of both moneyers and mints over considerable periods. The interpretation of the data collected is not however easy, and needs handling with care.[2] In the succeeding paragraphs evidence of minting activity in Essex between the reign of Edward the Elder and the Battle of Hastings will be considered.

The first Anglo-Saxon pennies were minted in Kent in the third quarter of the eighth century, and during the course of the succeeding century the practice spread to the other kingdoms of England.[3] Although the moneyers and the monarchs whose coins

1. These are considered in detail below, pp 275ff.
2. The difficulties of studying Anglo-Saxon coins are outlined by W A D Freeman at the opening of his 'The Mints and Moneyers of Edward the Confessor', unpublished University of Reading PhD thesis (1983), pp 2-37.
3. The administrative background to coin issuing before the Norman Conquest has been outlined above, pp 194-6. For introductory studies of the coins themselves G C Brooke's English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day (1976 repr), and M Dolley's Anglo-Saxon Pennies (1970 repr) are of value, and have been used, with the specialised studies specified, in the preparation of this section.

they produced were identified on earlier coins, it was not until 886 when King Alfred issued coins to celebrate his occupation of London that the name of the place where they were produced was also mentioned. This practice however soon ceased, and during the reign of Alfred's son, Edward the Elder, the only mint to be named on his coins was Bath.[1]

The reform of coin-issuing arrangements contained in Athelstan's law code issued at Grately c926-c930 ordained that henceforth money was only to be minted in towns, and that except for specified, large, urban centres there was to be only one moneyer in each burh.[2] One of the practical results of these changes was that during his reign mint names appeared on the reverse of coins, and the first reference to an Essex mint is to be found then, on the coins minted at Maeld by Abonel. This moneyer also worked at Hertford, and although it has been argued that Maeld should be expanded to read Malmesbury, it seems more likely that it refers to Maldon; as was suggested in the British Museum coin catalogue of 1893.[3] During the succeeding reigns of Edmund (939-46), Eadred (946-55), and Eadwig (955-59) mint names occur less regularly, and there are no further references to Maldon until the time of Edgar, when

1. Dolley, op cit, pp 20-21; Brooke, op cit, p 50.
2. II Athelstan 14, F Liebermann, Die Gesstze der Angelsachsen i (1903), 158
3. Brooke, op cit, p 59; and 63 (for the coinage of Edgar) listed Maeld as Maldon in his 1950 edition, but in the 1976 reprint, p 254, it was suggested that the mark should be read as Malmesbury. See also J J North, English Hammered Coinage i (1963), 94, and 107. Abonel is listed among the moneyers of Athelstan's reign in Grueber and Keary, A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series, ii (1893), 101.

two moneyers, Richtmund and Wulfric were working at Maeld, both producing 'Small Cross' coins.[1] This was the first issue to appear after Edgar's reform of the coinage in 973, one of the results of which was to more than double the number of mints from the 25-30 that existed before that date. Many of these new mints were to operate for the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon period, by which time there were few places more than 10 miles from a mint.[2] No coins are known to have been minted at Maldon during the brief reign of Edward the Martyr (975-9).[3] One moneyer, Eadwold, is recorded there producing the 'First Hand' type of Ethelred between 979 and 985.[4] His output, 0.26% of the national total, was tiny,[5] and for the next type, the 'Second Hand' (985-991), no moneyers are known to have worked at Maldon. However, two, AElfwine and Leofwine produced the succeeding 'Crux' type (991-997). Two different moneyers each produced the 'Long Cross' (997-1003) and 'Helmet' (1003-1009) issues, with no moneyers apparently active in Maldon 1009-1016 when Ethelred's 'Last Small Cross' pennies were issued.[6]

1. Brooke, op cit, p 63 lists the moneyers working under Edgar, many of whom did not name their place of work on their coins.
2. The seminal study is R H M Dolley and D M Metcalf, 'The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar', in Dolley (ed) Anglo-Saxon Coins (1961), pp 136-168, especially, pp 145-147. Fig iii, p 151 shows the locations of mints operating after 973.
3. Brooke, op cit, pp 63-64 lists the mints operating during Edward's reign.
4. V J Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 973-1016', unpublished University of Nottingham MA thesis (1963), p 109 lists the Maldon moneyers. The dating system proposed by her, ibid, pp 39-40, for coin issues 973-1016 have been followed here.
5. D M Metcalf, 'The Ranking of Boroughs: Numismatic Evidence from the Reign of AEthelred II', in D Hill (ed) Ethelred the Unready (1978), Table 2, p 209.
6. Smart, op cit, p 109.

The reign of Ethelred saw the opening of a mint in Colchester, and between 991 and 997 2.7% of the national output of the 'Crux' type was produced there.[1] Some 10 moneyers were reponsible for this issue,[2] a large part of which was probably used to pay the £10,000 promised to the Danes after the Battle of Maldon.[3] In the succeeding type the number of moneyers fell to 5, and the output to 1.21%. Only one moneyer is known to have produced the next type, the 'Helmet' of 1003-1009,[4] but during the final period of Ethelred's reign, 1009-1016, four moneyers were active in Colchester. These violent fluctuations in the number of moneyers working in Colchester probably resulted from the need to increase output when geld payments were due to the Danes.[5]

1. Metcalf, op cit, Table 2 p 209.
2. Details in Smart, op cit, pp 107-108, the basis of the following notes.
3. ASC sub anno 991, Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles..... (1892) i, 126-127.
4. He was Eadsige, not included in Smart's list, but a coin of his is recorded in the Syllogue of the Coins of the British Isles, 7 Royal Collection of Coins and Medals National Museum of Copenhagen Pt 2 (1966), no 483, pl 5, and 21.
5. Metcalf, op cit, Table 1, p 206, details the numbers of Colchester coins listed by Hildebrand from the Royal Cabinet Stockholm, and from the SCBI Copenhagen volumes. It will be seen that the trends in the totals of coins is paralleled by the numbers of known moneyers:

	'Crux' 991-997	'Long Cross' 997-1003	'Helmet' 1003-1009	'Last Short Cross' 1009-1016
Coins	35	15	1	11
Moneyers	10	5	1	4

The subject of payments to the Danes is considered by M K Lawson 'The collection of Danegeld and Heregeld in the reigns of AEthelred II and Cnut', EHR 99 (1984), 721-738, who notes the variations in the volume of the currency during Cnut's reign, ibid, 727, probably as a result of minting extra coins to meet the demands for extra geld.

All but one of the 22 Essex moneyers of Ethelred's reign had Old English names, the exception being the Scandinavian Toca, or Toga. He was also the only moneyer to have worked in both Maldon and Colchester.[1] He produced the 'Crux' coins of 991-997 in Colchester, and is then found issuing the next type, the 'Long Cross' (997-1003) at Maldon - the only moneyer known to have been there then. During the reigns of Cnut, Harthacnut, and Harold I all of the Essex moneyers had Engish names, which demonstrates the extent to which one sector of the population of the Essex burhs was devoid of inhabitants with Scandinavian antecedents.[2]

Three of the Colchester moneyers who produced the last issue of Ethelred's reign also minted the first type, the 'Quatrefoil' (1017-1023) of Cnut.[3] One of them, Godric, was active until about 1040, throughout Cnut's and Harold's reigns.[4] In Maldon Ceolnod who had produced the 'Last Small Cross'of Ethelred also minted Cnut's first issue, although he is not recorded after 1024.

1. Smart, op cit, pp 108-111, where it is noted that in the southern Danelaw the incidence of Scandinavian moneyers followed the density of Scandinavian place-names.
2. V J Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 1016-1042', unpublished University of Nottingham PhD thesis (1981), pp 214-216. The names of the pre-Conquest Colchester moneyers and Domesday burgesses have been studied by N Crummy, who found a preponderance of Old English names, with few of Scandinavian or German origin - P Crummy, Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester (1981), pp 75-77. The only inhabitants of pre-Conquest Maldon whose names are known are its moneyers.
3. The dating and naming of the coin types 1016-1066 generally follows Smart 'Moneyers....1016-1042', and Freeman, op cit, although account has been taken of the slightly different dates and titles proposed by P Seaby 'The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030-50', British Numismatic Jnl xxviii (1955-1957), 111-146.
4. Details of the moneyers' careers are given by Smart, 'Moneyers.... 1016-1042', p 214 (Colchester), and p 215 (Maldon).

There were four moneyers active in Colchester during the period (1017-1023) that Cnut's 'Quatrefoil' was being minted, and three in Maldon. The 'Helmet' type which followed in 1024-1030, was produced by four moneyers each in the two Essex burhs, but there were none working in Maldon whilst the 'Short Cross' was being minted (1029-1035) although there were still four in Colchester.[1]

On Cnut's death in 1035 he left two sons by different mothers, Harthacnut, and Harold, who ruled as joint kings, issuing their own coins until Harold's death in 1040, when Harthacnut became sole king.[2] Harold's first type, the 'Jewel Cross' of 1036-1037 was minted by two moneyers in Colchester, Godric and Wulfwine, and two others, Leofthegn, and Wulfwine (the same person with a workshop in both towns?) in Maldon. Both Godric and Wulfwine continued to produce Harold's 'Fleur de Lys' type of 1037-1040, although only Godman was active in Maldon. None of Harthacnut's first issue ('Jewel Cross') were produced in Essex, although Wulfwine issued the second type ('Arm and Sceptre') in Colchester 1040-1042.[3]

The reign of Edward the Confessor saw the Colchester mint grow until by the early 1050s it ranked as the tenth most important

1. To the moneyers listed by Smart, previous note, it is possible to add AElfwine for the 'Helmet' type, SCBI 13, Copenhagen Pt 3A nos 243-247, pl 9; and Leofwine for the 'Short Cross', ibid, pl 10, no 266.
2. Dolley, Anglo-Saxon Pennies, p 28.
3. These details are derived from Smart, 'Moneyers...1016-1042', p 214 (Colchester), and p 215 (Maldon).

in the country.[1] Freeman has suggested that between 1047 and 1062 its normal complement of moneyers was five, whereas Maldon's never exceeded two.[2] The first 'Pacx' type of Edward was produced in Colchester by two moneyers; the succeeding 'Radiate' of 1045-1046 by four, with one (Daeiniht) active in Maldon during this issue.[3] He did not mint the next type ('Trefoil' 1047-1048) when there was no output from Maldon, although five moneyers were coining in Colchester. Daeiniht reappears for the next issue, ('Small Flan', 1049-1050), accompanied by five moneyers in Colchester. One of these, Wulfwine, is not recorded as having produced the 'Expanding Cross' type of 1051-1053, but his four contemporaries did, with Daeiniht in Maldon. The 'Pointed Helmet' type of 1054-1056 was produced by seven moneyers in Colchester, and three in Maldon, who were also active during the next issue ('Sovereign Martlets', 1057-1059) although only four produced it in Colchester. For the succeeding issue ('Hammer Cross', 1060-1062) there was an increase to five in the Colchester moneyers, but there were only two working in Maldon, with one for the penultimate type of Edward's reign, when there were four active in Colchester. The 'Pyramids' type of 1065-1066 was only produced by one Essex moneyer - Wulfwine in Colchester.

1. This was during the minting of the 'Expanding Cross', 1051-1053, and 'Pointed Helmet' types, 1054-1056, when Colchester's output ranked as tenth equal, Freeman, op cit, Appendix II, pp 850 ff (unnumbered).
2. Ibid, pp 124-127 (Colchester), and 385-387 (Maldon). See also his Appendix IV, 'Totals of moneyers by mints and types', pp 875 ff (unnumbered).
3. Details of moneyers in the Essex mints is derived from Freeman's Appendix I, 'Coin evidence and mint profiles', pp 733 ff (unnumbered).

The years 1054-1062 which witnessed maximum production at both Maldon and Colchester also saw the brief existence of mints at Horndon, and possibly Newport. At Horndon Dudinc, a moneyer who had produced the 'Expanding Cross' type of 1051-1053 in London, appears briefly to issue the 'Sovereign Martlets' type of 1057-1059.[1] Freeman regards the mint at Horndon as one of a number established within 50-60 miles of London and worked by London moneyers to increase production and distribution of coins at that period. If Horndon was intended to develop as a permanent mint it failed to do so.[2]

Another mint established during Edward's reign had the mark Nibeport, which it has been customary to read as Newport Pagnell.[3] Indeed, the Newport coins have affinities with those of the Buckinghamshire mints of Aylesbury and Buckingham, but Freeman inclined to the view that the Newport named on the coins might be the one in Essex.[4] It, like Horndon, was staffed by London moneyers, and its distance from neighbouring mints suggests that it may, with Horndon, Bury St Edmunds and Sudbury, have been intended to help fill up the gaps between existing centres of output in the area immediately north and east of

1. There is only one known example of a penny minted at Horndon, described in Grueber and Keary, op cit, i 382, who list, ibid, 407, an example of Dudinc's 'Expanding Cross' coins from London.
2. Freeman, op cit, pp 214-215. Dolley and Metcalf, 'The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar', pp 146-147, who comment on the "crop of little mints at places which are mostly of no real importance" set up during Edward's reign. See also R H M Dolley, 'The Mysterious Mint of "Fro", Br Numismatic Jnl xxviii (1958), 504-508 for similar comments.
3. See for example the last reference.
4. For a full discussion see pp 394-396 of his thesis. Doubtless access to the information in Historic Towns in Essex would have made him more confident in adopting the Essex location for Nibeport.

London. Two moneyers are recorded at Newport Sired, 1054-1056 producing the 'Pointed Helmet' type, and Saeþan the 'Hammered Cross' of 1060-1062.[1] It is to be noted that these types came before and after the 'Sovereign Martlets' type which was produced at Horndon.

The brief reign of Harold II (Jan-Oct 1066) saw something of a revival in the fortunes of the established Essex mints. Three moneyers were active in Colchester, with one (Godwine) in Maldon, producing the king's 'Pax' coinage.[2] Two of these moneyers, Wulfwine in Colchester, and Godwine in Maldon, had both been active since the years 1053-1056 in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

The close connection between burhs and mints has already been considered,[3] scholars having taken the view that it was the existence of a mint that made a place, usually although not exclusively, a town into a burh.[4] The other features of a burh were fortifications, a market, and hetrogenous tenure,[5]

1. For examples of Sired's 'Pointed Helmet' issues see Grueber and Keary, op cit, ii 411.
2. Brooke, op cit, lists Brihtric, and Wulfwine as minting at Colchester under Harold II (p 71), and Godwine at Maldon (p 74). A coin by Goldman, the third Colchester moneyer, is illustrated in SCBI 2, Hunterian and Coats Collections University of Glasgow Pt 1 (1961), pl xi, no 1229.
3. Chapter 6, above pp 194-196.
4. This view is succinctly stated by H R Loyn in 'Boroughs and Mints AD 900-1066', R H M Dolley (Ed) Anglo-Saxon Coins (1961), p 131.
5. Ibid, p 132; other characteristics are listed on the preceding page.

although others including planned streets, legal autonomy, dense population, and complex religious organisation, are also suggested as elements which differentiate pre-Conquest towns from non-urban centres.[1] A mint might be established anywhere, but it seems that the only ones which had a continuous existence were those located within towns where there was sufficient demand for the production of coins to make the provision of the facility worthwhile.[2]

Within the context of tenth and eleventh century Essex it seems likely that places selected as mints would have already exhibited some of the characteristics of a burh listed above. Maldon, for example, had fortifications, and a planned extra-mural settlement with a market place. Witham too had these features, but was not selected as one of the Essex mint towns in the pre-Conquest period.[3] This presumably means that by the 970s Witham had failed to develop as an urban centre to the extent that Maldon had. Both were well-placed geographically, Maldon at the head of the Blackwater Estuary, and Witham just off the London to Colchester road. However, it may be that the siting of the burh within the royal manor of Witham inhibited the growth of heterogeneous tenure which was to be seen in Maldon, and to a greater extent in Colchester, by the time of the Domesday survey.[4] Urban growth at Witham does not appear to have been

1. Haslam, (Ed), op cit, pp xvi, and 1-2.
2. Metcalf, 'The Ranking of Boroughs...', p 162, suggested that more than 95% of the coins minted were produced from bullion brought into the mints by individuals.
3. I am grateful to Miss M Archibald of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for confirming that there are no coins with mint marks which can be ascribed to Witham.
4. For details of the Domesday descriptions, and notes on the later histories of the Essex burhs, see below, Pp 275ff.

substantial until after King Stephen gave the manor to the Templars, who established in 1212 a 'new town' on the main road, which by the mid-sixteenth century had grown to contain over 500 households.[1]

To Maldon and Colchester were briefly added in the 1050s Horndon and Newport as additions to the list of Essex burhs. Newport, like Witham, was a royal manor, but its urban centre may have been deliberately planned to take advantage of its position on the London-Cambridge road, and hence it grew faster than Witham. However, it had not developed sufficiently by the reign of Edward the Confessor to support a mint for any length of time, although it did last longer than Horndon's. Horndon is an interesting town, about which it might be possible to say more of its pre-Conquest features if its later history were better known.[2] Of the five Essex mints its location, on a route running north from the Thames, is the least promising, an observation which is perhaps reinforced by the existence of but a single coin minted there. The Domesday evidence however suggests that the tenurial pattern in 1066 was of some complexity, with the parish church endowed by three individuals, and (apparently) at least two houses in the town.[3]

1. Morant, History of Essex ii, 106, and 112; Historic Towns in Essex, p 91, and town plan, p 92.
2. The VCH Essex Bibliography, 232, lists three articles, and the church guidebook as the total of the antiquarian literature on Horndon, none of which relates to its history generally.
3. According to Loyn, 'Boroughs and Mints', p 132 Horndon 'remained a relatively undistinguished village assessed at a little more than ten hides, not even a royal manor in 1066'. Morant's account, cited below, p280n4 , does not substantiate this view; and it may be noted that the Domesday assessment of Maldon was less than 3 hides, below p p 281ff.

The selection of these five settlements as mints reveals a certain amount about their development, and indirectly of other places which did not become coin-issuing centres. Unfortunately it is not possible to learn from statistical data derived from the surviving examples of their output of coins very much about their growth, and their relative sizes during the period under review. There appear to be dangers in using estimates of total output, the number of dies in use, and the number of moneyers in estimating the significance of a mint, and comparing its importance with others.[1] Attention has been drawn to the fact that the output of a mint was the result of considerations which did not necessarily relate to the economic or administrative significance of the town where it was situated.[2] Difficulties of interpretation notwithstanding, various attempts have been made to rank the mints working at various periods before the Norman Conquest. The results, at least of studies of Ethelred's reign, suggest that the reservations may have been exaggerated, since both Metcalf's analysis of mint output from die-totals,[3] and Hill's of moneyer totals,[4] tell broadly the same story. London, the economic capital, had the largest mint, followed by the regional centres - Winchester, York, and

1. These problems are considered at length by Metcalf, art cit, pp 159-173, and also by Freeman, op cit, pp 637 ff.
2. Metcalf, art cit, p162; Freeman, op cit, p 651 noted that the 'ranking of mints does not necessarily equal the ranking of towns or regions as centres of economic or administrative importance', the system of minting conforming 'to its own internal needs on behalf of national and local interests'.
3. Metcalf art cit, compare especially his Table 2, 'Mint output as a percentage of the national total for each type', and Table 3, 'Mint output in "equivalent" reverse dies', pp 208-211, with Hill's rankings, next note.
4. D Hill, 'Trends in the Development of Towns during the reign of Ethelred II', in D Hill (Ed) Ethelred the Unready (1978) pp 213-216.

Lincoln for example - and after them in size ranked the 'shire town' mints, of which Colchester was clearly one. The 'small' mints comprised not only those such as Maldon which had long histories, and usually a few moneyers working in them, but also the ephemeral, one moneyer mints like Newport and Horndon. Hill calculated on the basis of the various percentages of the national total of moneyers operating in each of the Essex mints that Colchester ranked 20th in the country, Maldon 41st, Newport 65th, and Horndon 83rd.[1] Freeman's calculations for the reign of Edward the Confessor show that Colchester's standing increased from 1045-1046 when it was 11th in the table of mints, to a peak of 10th 1051-1056, before falling back again to 16th 1063-1065.[2]

The numbers of moneyers working in Maldon and Colchester between 979 and 1066 is represented graphically in Table 21 (page 266). It shows that there were apparently dramatic changes in their numbers from issue to issue, although it may be that as more coins are found some of the changes in moneyer complements will become smoother. From 991, the date of the first extant issues from Colchester, there were never fewer moneyers there than at Maldon, and for only four of the 22 issues were there as many striking in Maldon as there were in Colchester. This suggests that the Colchester mint operated on a more extensive scale than at Maldon, and although this should not be taken to necessarily mean that one of the burhs was more significant than the other, other evidence suggests that this was the case.[3] It is not however possible to use changes in the number of moneyers in a burh as an indicator of

1. Ibid, the valuable map and table of the ranking of mints, p 216.
2. Freeman, op cit, Appendix I, pp 850 ff (unnumbered), ranks the mints with four or more moneyers for each issue of the Confessor's reign.
3. As demonstrated below, when the Domesday descriptions of the two towns are considered.

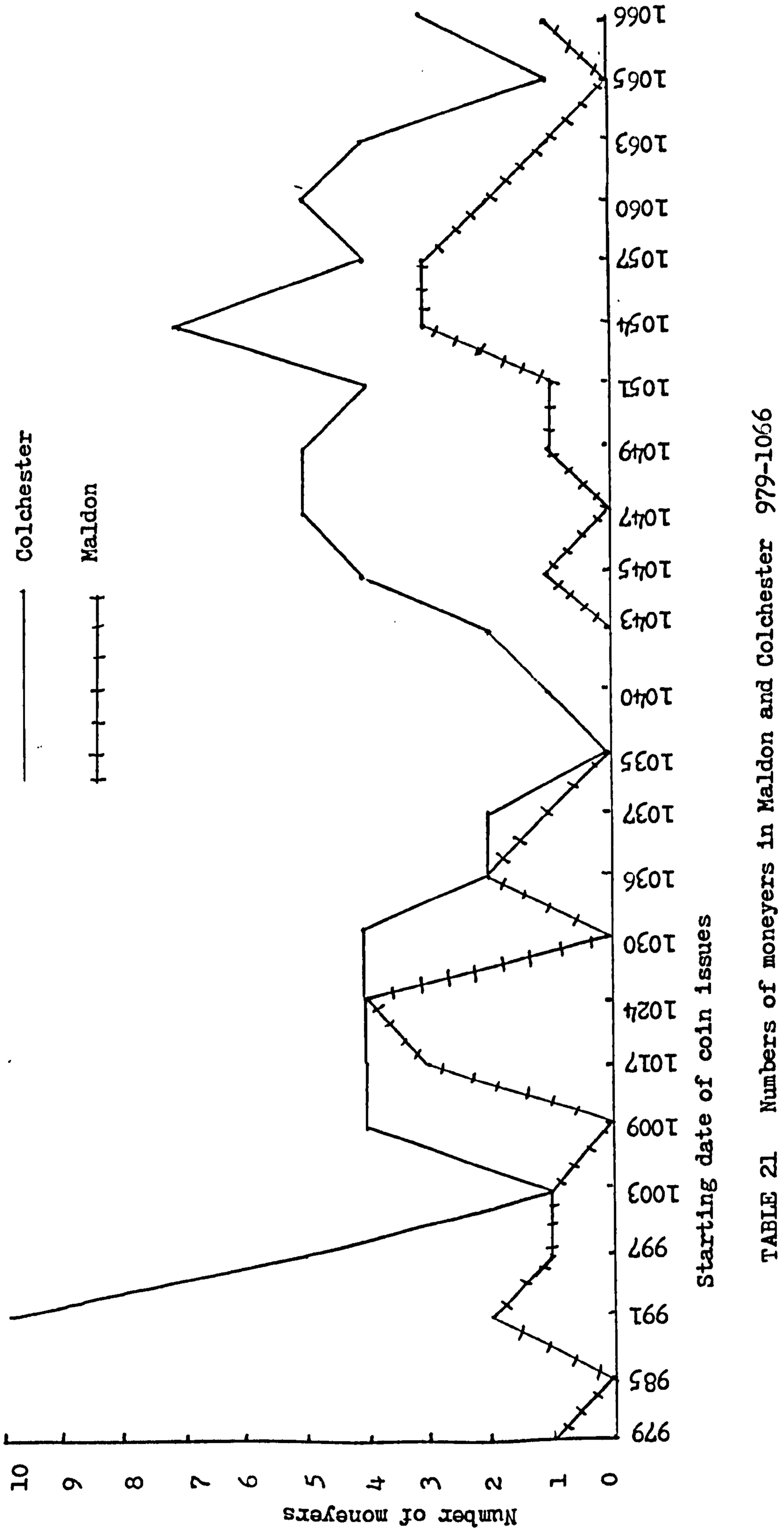


TABLE 21 Numbers of moneyers in Maldon and Colchester 979-1066

its changing economic fortunes. From Table 21 it can be seen that the curves indicating the number of moneyers working in Maldon and Colchester generally run parallel to each other, which suggests that their numbers were influenced by factors outside the burhs themselves.[1] The decline in the number of moneyers that occurred between 1018 and 1035 is a reflection of the reduction in their numbers nationally from c375 in 1023 to c180 in 1042, after which the total remained steady for a decade.[2]

1. A point made forcibly by Freeman, op cit, p 651.
2. Seaby , 'The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types', Table A, 121.

The Topography and Archaeology of Colchester 917-1066

Of the Essex burhs Colchester, because it was delimited by the walls of the Roman town, was the largest in area, and it has also been seen that it had the largest mint in the shire. The wealth of Roman remains in and around the town have resulted in the expenditure of a considerable amount of archaeological effort on the discovery of Colchester's past, although it has only been within the last two decades that attention has been directed to the remains of the early medieval period. Study of the town's street plan, initiated by Biddle and Hill in 1971,[1] has, with other work on parish boundaries, and important excavations in and around the Norman castle, produced a considerable corpus of information on Colchester in the last century and a half of the Anglo-Saxon period.[2]

Careful study of the streets and their frontages suggests that the centre of Colchester underwent four phases of post-Roman town planning.[3] The first of these was the continued use in small areas of Roman boundaries and thoroughfares during the post-Roman period. Around these, in a second phase much of the area within the walls was replanned using a standard of four poles. This resulted in a series of north-south streets running across the town, linked by east-west roads. In the third stage of the street plan's development the area immediately south of the High Street was replanned to create two blocks with a back lane running parallel to the main east-west thoroughfare. The final phase, which post-dated the construction of the castle, witnessed the diversion of the eastern

1. 'Late Saxon Planned Towns', Antiquaries Jnl 51, (1971), 70-85, esp 84.
2. The fullest discussion is P Crummy, Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester (1981). His 'Colchester between the Roman and Norman Conquests' in D G Buckley (Ed), Archaeology in Essex to 1500 (1980), 76-81 is a shorter summary.
3. This is considered by Crummy in the two works cited in the previous note, Aspects... pp 50, and 71-74, 'Colchester...', pp 79-81; and also in his 'The System of Measurement used in Town Planning from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century', Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 1, (1979), 149-164, especially 151, 154, and 161-162.

end of the High Street southward round the bailey ditch.[1]

It was suggested by Biddle and Hill that the second phase in the planning of the town (as defined above) dated from the recovery of the town from the Danes by Edward the Elder in 917, and this view has been accepted by Crummy and Drury.[2] The replanning of the area south of the High Street clearly belongs to a subsequent stage, and occurred before the diversion of the High Street round the bailey ditch.[3] The construction of a back lane could have resulted from the need to improve access to shops in the High Street - the site of the market - which suggests a growth in the trade of the burh. This development is not in itself datable, although Crummy has drawn attention to the fact that there is little Thetford-type pottery known from Colchester, which suggests that the population of the town for much of the tenth century, when this ware was in common use, remained fairly low, and only began to expand at the end of the century, at the same time as a mint was established there.[4]

Signs of pre-Conquest growth are not, however, confined to the street plan of Colchester. At the Reformation there were within the town's walls eight parish churches, of which seven either incorporated Anglo-Saxon masonry, or were probably built on the sites of churches that existed before 1066.[5] In addition there

1. Drury, 'Aspects of the Origin and Development of Colchester Castle', 389-390, noted that archaeological evidence exists to suggest that the line of the road had begun to drift south by the 1070s.
2. Crummy, 'Colchester...', p 79; Aspects..., p 73, rather more reluctantly than Drury, art cit, 389-390.
3. In his review of Crummy's Aspects... D A Hinton (Archaeological Jnl 139 (1982), 471, noted that the back lane to the High Street keeps to its pre-diversion alignment, parallel to the rest of the High Street.
4. Aspects..., p 72.
5. The basic survey of Colchester's churches is by W & K Rodwell, Historic Churches - a wasting asset (1977), pp 24-41.

were also two chapels, St Helen's, built on the site of the Roman theatre (and incorporating some of its walling), and the chapel in the castle bailey, now known to have been on the site of a late Saxon structure.[1] It has been suggested by Rodwell that when Edward the Elder laid out the new street plan in Colchester he also divided up the walled area into seven ecclesiastical parishes, and the extra-parochial area later occupied by the castle and its lands.[2] Before the Conquest an eighth parish was formed, that of St Runwald's, the church of which was sited in the middle of the High Street where the market was held. It was, however, more than a market chapel since it possessed a detached graveyard nearby; the parish itself being carved out of those to the north and south. The southern boundary of St Runwald's parish ran along the centre of the back lane behind the High Street, which might suggest that it was created after the alteration to the town centre street plan, and was a response to the rising population of the market area of the burh.

The pattern of parish boundaries in Colchester is, however, capable of more than one interpretation, and Crummy has proposed a model which is effectively the reverse of Rodwell's. He regards St Runwald's as the oldest parish, and suggests that Holy Trinity to the south of it was cut out of pre-existing parishes. He also

1. For a summary see Drury, art cit, p 390, and passim for details of the successive chapels.
2. Op cit, pp 40-41, with fig 13 showing his model of the development of parish boundaries in the Saxon and Norman periods. The extra-parochial status of the castle chapel was noted by Morant, History of Essex i, History of Colchester, 10.

regards St James as belonging to the second (and pre-Conquest) phase of ecclesiastical development, although its intra-mural parish boundary appears to have been cut out of All Saints.[1] In the present state of knowledge of the individual church buildings it would be hazardous to choose between these rival theories. Which (if either of them) is found to be correct is of less immediate significance than the fact that they indicate an increase in the number of churches within Colchester before the Norman Conquest, and that as a consequence the boundaries of their parishes were subjected to alterations. This fact, taken with the development of the street plan, suggests a growing and thriving community.

The alterations in the street plan, and the number of parishes in Colchester are evidence of growth in the resident population of the pre-Conquest burh, and of its economic vitality. They do not, however, have any direct bearing upon the administrative role of the town. The twelfth century moot hall occupied part of the site now covered by the present Town Hall,[2] and it is likely that the pre-Conquest moot also met in this area, on the north side of the High Street, close to St Runwald's church. Of the internal government of the burh little is known, although there is a reference to the burgesses giving evidence to the Domesday Commissioners.[3]

By the time the Domesday survey was undertaken the burh of Colchester comprised not only the walled, urban centre, but also

1. Aspects..., pp 50-53, and 73-74. His plan of the parish boundaries, fig 44, p 52, is clearer than Rodwell's fig 9, p 25. Although in his model Rodwell, pp 40-41, regarded St James as late in the development of Colchester parishes, he noted elsewhere (p 34) that originally the church was the same size as St Peter's, and wondered whether they were designed by the same man.
2. Discussed, with illustrations, by Crummy, Aspects..., pp 60-67. The Norman moot hall, built c1160, was demolished in 1843.
3. DB ii, f 104, when they claimed that 5 hides in Lexden which belonged in 1066 to Godric (89) were liable to pay the 'customary due and account of the city' - Round's translation, VCH Ex i, 574.

four rural parishes around it, Lexden, Mile End, Greenstead, and West Donyland.[1] Geographically the centre of Colchester lies within the hundred of Lexden, and it seems likely that when the Essex hundreds were created, if it had an independent administrative existence, the burh would have been little more than the walled area. Since Lexden gave its name to a hundred it is difficult to see how it could not actually have been included within it when the hundreds were first formed. This suggests that the hundred of Colchester was formed later, and its creation resulted in the detachment of Wivenhoe and East Donyland from the remainder of Lexden hundred.[2] Greenstead was included by the Domesday scribes in their description of Colchester,[3] while the implications of the burgesses' claim (mentioned above) is that this situation pre-dated the Norman Conquest. While it is impossible to date, it is tempting to see the enlargement of the burh as an indication of its growth during the late tenth and eleventh centuries, other indications of which have already been discussed.

The lengthy description of Colchester in Domesday Book, inscribed as a separate section at the end of the Essex folios,[4] implies that the town enjoyed a special status. The fact that it was selected as the site of the only royal castle to be built in Essex during the reign of William the Conqueror supports such

1. As shown on the map of Essex hundred boundaries, Map above, p
2. Crummy's map of the parish boundaries, Aspects... fig 44, p 52 shows that the parishes of Lexden and Mile End came within 100 metres of the town wall.
3. DB ii, f 104; for a berewick of the royal manor of Stanway in Lexden, see ibid, f 4b.
4. Ibid, ff 104-107, commented on below, pp 275ff.

a view, and it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that Colchester served as the shire town of Essex. One of the interesting features of the Domesday description of Colchester is that no mention is made in it of the castle and neither are any references to the destruction of houses in clearing the site for its construction, similar to those mentioned elsewhere.[1] It is certain that the castle existed in 1086, since construction of it began in 1074 or 1076.[2] This suggests that the site was in royal hands before the 1070s, a hypothesis which receives strong support from the extraparochial status of the north-east corner of the town where the castle was built, and the exclusion of the area from the town planning of Edward the Elder and his successors. Drury has indeed suggested that the precinct wall which surrounded the Temple of Claudius may have been occupied as a defensible residence in the fifth century, and has drawn attention to the similar circumstances of the Cripplegate fort in London which seems to have developed into an ealdorman's residence.[3] If it was not in royal hands before Edward the Elder's capture of the burh in 917, it is likely that the temple site and the north-eastern corner of Colchester were taken over then, and became a royal manor or estate - a villa regalis, similar to the Saxon palace at Cheddar. The complex at Colchester is known to have had a timber chapel, subsequently replaced (before the building of the castle) in stone, and other structures, traces of which have been found.[4]

1. For example at York, DB i, f 298, and Lincoln, ibid, f 336b.
2. The evidence is summarised by Drury, art cit, 399.
3. Art cit, 385. For the Cripplegate fort, and Aldermanbury see Haslam (ed), pp 306-308, with plan showing the relationship between the fort, the Aldermanbury tenement, and the ward of Cripplegate.
4. Drury, art cit, 390, and fig 36, 382, summarises the findings discussed in detail earlier in the report.

It seems likely that when the royal councillors met at Colchester in 931, and 940[1] they did so in the villa regalis established by Edward the Elder, and that the buildings within it, like the later castle, served as the headquarters of the sheriff of Essex.[2]

1. S Keynes, The Diplomas of King AEthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016 (1980), p 270.
2. Morant, History of Essex i (1768), History of Colchester, 9.

The Essex burhs in 1066

Although frustratingly incomplete, Domesday Book contains a considerable amount of information on the Essex burhs in the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods, and to complete the analyses of their pre-1066 histories the Domesday descriptions of Colchester, Horndon, Maldon and Newport are considered here.

Colchester

The Essex Domesday folios end with a lengthy description of the 'Hundred de Colecestra'[1], which opens with details of an estate held in King Edward's time by Godric of Colchester (89). It comprised four houses, a church, and four hides in Greenstead. After Godric's death his property was divided between his sons, and was further partitioned by 1086. The scribe also recorded that the burgesses of Colchester claimed that five hides of Lexden once held by Godric were part of the civitatis.[2] The description of Godric's property occupies most of folio 104, but at the bottom of it begins the list of the 1086 burgesses, with details of their houses and lands. Some 294 of them were named,[3] and they each held between half a house, and 13 houses, attached to which were amounts of land that ranged in extent from half an acre to 42 acres. Most of the burgesses held only one house, although 40 had two. The most common amount of land held was 10 acres (20 examples), followed by one acre (15 instances), and 5 acres (13 individuals). Nine had 20 acres each, and five, 25 acres.

1. DB ii, ff 104-107b.
2. It has not been possible to trace any land in Lexden held by Godric in 1066.
3. Darby, Domesday Geography of Eastern England (1971), p 253 counted one more, 295, and Round, VCH Ex i, 416-7, 276. The list of the burgesses and their property occupies two whole folios, from the bottom of f 104 to the bottom of f 106.

Only 51.7% of the 294 held both houses and land, since 40.8% had only houses, and perhaps surprisingly, 7.5% (22) held only land, and no houses. The burgesses also had 51 acres of meadow between them, in addition to their individual holdings.[1]

The list of individual burgesses and their property is followed by descriptions of the Colchester holdings of Norman barons, in which particular attention was paid to identifying those that failed to make customary payments to the king.[2] Some of these holdings were extensive, Hamo Dapifer's (the first to be listed) consisted of a house, a hall (curia), one hide, and 15 burgesses. There was a plough on the hide in 1066, when the whole was worth £4, although probably through the loss of the team it was only valued at 40/- in 1086. In all some 18 barons had property in Colchester in 1086, most of which they had 'inherited' from their Anglo-Saxon predecessors.[3] The Bishop of London's property was not described on folios 106-107, but on folio 11 at the end of his breve. In Colchester he had 14 houses and 4 acres of land, which did not render any customary dues except scot to the bishop.

The tenants-in-chief who in 1086 held property in Colchester also had extensive estates in the Essex countryside, and twelve rural manors had houses in the burh. On five occasions these houses were only referred to in the description of the manor to which they belonged, three others occur both there and in the account

1. This is recorded on f 106. They had some common as well, f 107, which is mentioned below.
2. These run from the bottom of f 106 to a quarter of the way down f 107. Only two of them were paying customary dues, although all of the property mentioned had done so before the Conquest.
3. Ranulf Peverel, for example, held in 1086 5 houses which belonged to Terling, and had been held in 1066 by AEthelmaer (41); Terling itself is described on DB ii f 72.

of Colchester, and in the remaining four instances they are only recorded in the latter.[1] A minimum of 21 houses were attached to rural manors, some of which - West Mersea, Elmstead, and Greenstead, for example - were within 10-15 miles of the town. The most distant was Shalford, 30 miles away, which had three houses in Colchester that belonged in 1066 to Eadgifu (60).[2] Landholders, both before and after the Norman Conquest, could derive benefit in at least two ways from the possession of houses in Colchester. First, it provided them with a base from which to transact business in the burh, and second their urban property acted as outlets for the sale of surplus agricultural produce to the townspeople.[3]

Having concluded the property of individuals and ecclesiastical institutions the scribes proceeded to record details of the customary payments received by the king from Colchester.[4] These were prefaced by descriptions of the king's demesne in the burh - 92 acres of arable, 10 of meadow, and 240 of pasture and scrub. The burgesses had in common 80 acres and 8 perches around the wall, which yielded 60/- per year, which was either paid to the king, or divided between themselves. The burgesses, as part of the king's farm, rendered a customary payment of 2 marks of silver each year in the 15th day after Easter. When the king was engaged in warfare,

1. These are all listed by Darby, op cit, p 253. The five groups of houses only recorded with their rural manor were those belonging to Birch, f 30, Greenstead, f 104, Tey, f 29b, West Mersea, f 22, and Rivenhall, f 27. Those entered twice were the houses of Feering, ff 14b, and 106b, Terling, ff 72b, and 107, and Wigborough, ff 18 and 107, the last reference was not noted by Darby. Houses only listed in the Colchester folios were those of Ardleigh, f 106b, Elmstead, f 106b, Tolleshunt, f 107, and Shalford, f 106b.
2. The relationship of these places to Colchester is clearly demonstrated on Darby's map, op cit, fig 69, p 251.
3. This subject of touched on by Darby, op cit, p 251 ff.
4. Commencing on f 107, and concluding on f 107b.

whether on land or sea, each house contributed 6d, which was not included in the farm. In King Edward's time the farm of the burh was £15/15/d, of which the moneyers paid £4. By 1086 this render had risen to £80, in addition to which 100/-was paid to the sheriff de gersuma, and 10/8d for feeding the prebendaries.[1] The burgesses of Colchester and Maldon paid £20 between them for their mints.

As a postscript to what was probably intended to have been the end of the description of Colchester the scribes added an account of the endowment of St Peter's Church, which was held in 1066 by two priests in almoine of the king. The property consisted of 2 hides, with (in 1066) 2 ploughs, 3 bordars, 3 slaves, 12 acres of meadow, a mill, and 2 houses in the burh. It was then worth 30/-, and rendered customary dues, although in 1086 when it was worth 48/-, and held by Robert son of Ralf de Hastings (3/4), and Eudo (¼), it did not.[2]

Domesday Colchester was clearly both large and complex, as the preceding paragraphs have made clear. Many individuals, from the king and his powerful barons down to a burgess with a single house had interests in it. Darby has calculated that there were in 1086 449 houses and burgesses in Colchester, approximately twice the number recorded in Maldon.[3] Although the percentage holding only houses was lower in the larger burh[4], the majority of

1. This payment is also recorded at Ipswich, Thetford, and Norwich, and is discussed by Round, VCH Ex i, 420.
2. All this is described at length on f 107b.
3. Darby, op cit, 254, estimated the population of Colchester in 1086 as 'well over 2,000'.
4. In Maldon some 73% of the burgesses had only their houses; see further below, p 281.

Colchester burgesses held both land and houses, and had access to additional common land. Some had only enough land to grow food for themselves, but others probably produced enough to sell. The commercial aspects of Colchester are emphasised by the number of houses within it that belonged to rural manors, and by the mint, even if no market is explicitly mentioned. However, within the boundaries of the burh existed the Greenstead estate of Godric of Colchester, which differed little from a rural holding in the depths of Essex.

Horndon

Six Domesday entries were required to describe the estates that had their centres within the parish of Horndon, although four of them do not have any bearing on its urban centre. They were the 1½ hides held by Godwine (92) in the future manor of Cantis;[1] AElfric the Priest (and freeman)'s (33) 2½ hide estate at Withfield, from which he gave ½ hide in almoine to a church;[2] Wulfric's (190) 2 hides and 50 acre manor, which also included 15 acres of church land;[3] and finally the 2½ hides 15 geld acres manor which belonged to two freemen, attached to which was a deacon with 30 acres and a quarter of a church.[4] The references to church land are unusual in Essex, and presumably describe the glebe of Horndon's parish church. Of greater interest for the purposes of this study is the fate of part of the 1½ hide estate held in 1086 by Winge.[5] The Domesday description of it reads like a normal rural estate, with its ploughs on the demesne, 3 bordars (in 1086 there were 4), woodland, share of a fishery, and livestock,

1. DB ii, f 12
2. Ibid, f 42
3. Ibid, f 26
4. Ibid, f 93b
5. Ibid, f 93

until the last sentence is reached which reads 'De hoc tra abstulit Goduin ii mansiones', an 'invasion against the king' also recorded on folio 99. These two mansiones caused Round some difficulty in his edition of the Essex Domesday text. In his notes to folio 93b he observed that sometimes the term could be translated as manor, whilst in urban contexts it signified houses.[1] Earlier, in discussing the Domesday description of Colchester he had referred to this Horndon entry, and given a third meaning to the term, that of a hide, but concluded that since the estate was only assessed at 1½ hides the mansiones could 'hardly have been anything but houses'.[2] Round did not suggest where the houses might have been situated, but since there are no references to any houses having belonged to Horndon estates in either Colchester or London, it seems likely that they were in Horndon itself, thereby confirming its urban nature, at least in 1086.

This view is in contrast to that advanced by Eddy and Petchey who suggest that Horndon was 'not regarded as urban in 1086'.[3] Although Horndon does not appear to have been either as large or prosperous as Newport was in the later medieval period, there was a market there by 1297, and two annual fairs were recorded in 1501.[4] In addition, it seems likely that there was also some urban settlement there in 1066.

1. VCH Ex i, 557 fn 8
2. Ibid, 416
3. Historic Towns in Essex, p 63
4. Morant, op cit, i, 216-217.

Maldon

It has been seen that the Domesday clerks collected all their information about Colchester together in a single entry at the end of the Essex folios. Unfortunately for later investigators they did not do the same with their Maldon data, which is scattered among six entries. The most important of these is included in the description of the royal fief, and states that William had in Maldon in 1086 180 houses (domos) held by burgesses, and 18 waste messuages.[1] 15 of the burgesses held half a hide and 15 acres, whilst the remainder had only domos suas in burgo. Between them the burgesses had 12 horses, 140 animals, 103 pigs, and 336 sheep.[2] Eudo Dapifer had 2 houses in the burh which rendered 16d in the time of King Edward; and the king one, which was associated with pasture for 100 sheep, a sokeman with 49 acres, a bordar, and half a plough on the demesne (there had been a whole one in 1066). This little holding had been worth 10 shillings in 1066, but was valued at only half that amount twenty years later.[3] In 1066 the whole of the royal property in the burh rendered £13/2/-, although in 1086 it produced £40.

The other passage which is important for an evaluation of the urban aspects of Maldon is that which describes a holding which in 1066 belonged to Robert fitz Wimarc (147), and was held in 1086 by his son Suen.[4] This estate was assessed at half a hide, and on it were semper a bordar, and one plough team. It was valued at 20/- in both 1066 and 1086. In 1086 Suen made a customary payment of

1. DB ii, f 5b-6.
2. It is not clear whether these assets belonged to all of the burgesses, or to the 18 who held the 75 geld acres.
3. This was presumably because of the loss of the four plough oxen, although the fact that in 1086 Ranulf Peverel was exacting an annual payment of 3/- from the sokeman may have reduced the amount he could render to the king.
4. DB ii, f 48.

4/- to the king from his holding,[1] and also joined the other burgesses in providing a ship for the navy, and a horse for the army.

The two entries which have just been described were inscribed under the rubric of 'Half Hundred of Maldon'. A third which was similarly designated was the account of a holding of half a hide and 24 geld acres which belonged in 1066 to Sigeweard of Maldon (157).[2] In 1066 this manor boasted one bordar (in 1086 there were 3), and was worth 5 shillings of the £12 that Sigeweard's other Maldon manor was valued at. This, although named Maldon, was included in the hundred of Dengie.[3] Assessed at 5½ hides 10 geld acres, it was worth £12 both in 1066 and 1086. Before the Conquest there were 16 villeins, 10 bordars, and 7 slaves, 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 10 belonging to the men, 10 acres of meadow, woodland for 50 pigs, a mill, 2 horses, 140 sheep, and 29 pigs. There is no indication that Sigeweard had any houses in the burh from which he took his name.

An estate which is described without any heading to indicate in which hundred it lay is the three hide manor held in 1066 by an unnamed freewoman.[4] This entry is unusual in that details of the equipment on the manor was recorded for post as well as tunc and modo. In 1066 there were 3 ploughs on the demesne and one belonging to the men, 3 villeins, 3 bordars, and 2 slaves, woodland for 20 pigs, and 20 acres of meadow, the whole worth before the Conquest £7. The final reference to land in Maldon is to a small holding of 10 acres, valued in 1066 at 10d, and

1. This is also mentioned in the description of the royal property in Maldon, DB ii, f 6.
2. DB ii, f 75.
3. DB ii, f 73, said by Round, VCH Ex i, 528 to be Little Maldon.
4. DB ii, f 29.

held by then by two freemen. Their holding was listed among the royal land in the hundred of Dengie.[1]

Although the information about Maldon contained in Domesday Book is not as full as might be desired, it does indicate that in 1086 (and probably in 1066) the burh contained not only an urban core of about 200 houses, but also small agricultural, holdings, which were nevertheless part of it. The 180 burgesses who only had their houses were clearly dependent upon trade rather than farming for their income, unlike their contemporaries in Colchester, many of whom had small holdings of land.[2] 15 of the Maldon burgesses had land as well as houses, and in addition the sokeman, Robert, and Sigeweard also had small estates within the half hundred of Maldon. Certainly two, and probably three other holdings, although stated to be in Maldon were administratively within the hundred of Dengie, of which Maldon half hundred had once formed part.

The available evidence suggests that in 1066 Maldon was neither as large nor as important as Colchester. There is no evidence that there was more than one church, and the town plan had not evolved from that laid out when the burh was constructed by Edward the Elder.[3] However, with its mint, and estimated urban population of more than 1100[4] it was the shire's second town, and considerably more extensive than either Horndon or Newport.

1. DB ii, f 4b.
2. As noted above, p p 275-6.
3. Little is known of the archaeology of the three medieval churches of Maldon, none of which apparently exhibit any pre-12th century features, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Essex ii (1921) 170-178. The parish of All Saints, which covered the burh and market place, seems to have been cut out of St Peter's, which implies that a church existed there before the arrival of Edward the Elder in 916, Historic Towns in Essex, p 66.
4. This is Darby's estimate, op cit, p 255.

Newport

Four Domesday entries describe estates within Newport, three of which refer to land in Shortgrove, a hamlet in the north of the parish. Two of these holdings had each been held by a freeman in 1066, and were both assessed at one and a quarter hides, which led Round to suggest that they were the two halves of a divided, larger, estate.[1] There was also in Shortgrove a two hide manor, held in 1066 by Wulfwine (199) and Grimkell (100)[2]. These estates were all apparently rural, with no urban features. This was also true of the extensive royal manor of Newport, assessed at two night's farm in 1066 (and 8 hides in 1086), with a berewick of 3 hides 46 geld acres at Shelford in Cambridgeshire, and two sokemen occupying 2½ hides of manorial sokeland.[3]

These Domesday entries do not suggest that there was a town at Newport in either 1066 or 1086, except by recording that the name of the royal manor was 'Newport'. There was certainly a market there in 1141, for in an agreement made then the Empress Matilda allowed Geoffrey de Mandeville to move it to Saffron Walden. However, a market was subsequently re-established in Newport, since one is recorded there in 1252-3 (37 Henry III). During the reign of King John (1199-1216) a hospital was established, which was granted a fair in 1226-7 (11 Henry III).

It is clear from Morant's history of Newport that the town was of some significance in the medieval period,[4] and in view of the evidence considered above, and the name of the place, it seems likely that there was an urban settlement there in 1066.

1. DB ii, ff 28, 28b; for Round's notes see VCH Ex i, 463, fn 5.
2. DB ii, f 68.
3. The entry occupies all but the last three lines of DB ii, f 7.
4. Morant, op cit, 584-587, who also recorded that there were 12 obits founded in the parish church, and a grammar school established in 1588. A synopsis of the town's history is given in Historic Towns in Essex, p 69.

Chapter 9

Private Lordship in late Anglo-Saxon Essex

Introduction

In Chapter 3 of this study it was shown that the lay landholders of 1066 Essex could be divided into two unequally sized groups. The smaller group contained those who each possessed large numbers of estates, while the other, more numerous group comprised those who each held either only one estate, or a few holdings. The marked differences between the groups suggests that those with extensive estates would have held more sway in their localities than their less affluent neighbours, and in Chapter 7 evidence was presented which suggested that hundredal administration was influenced by the holders of large tracts of land. While it is possible to state in general terms the influence that powerful landholders are likely to have exerted over their weaker neighbours, it is difficult to define more precisely except when the relationships between individuals were recorded in Domesday.

This account of private lordship in late Anglo-Saxon Essex is based upon the references in Domesday Book to the relationship between certain freemen and sokemen, and other, more powerful individuals and institutions.[1] For example, it may be recorded that someone was in the soke of another, paid customary dues to an individual or manor, was commended to an influential neighbour, or held land of someone else.[2] The subservience of what Welldon

1. The effects of private lordship on villeins, bordars, and slaves are not considered here, since this study is only concerned with those occupying identifiable holdings recorded in Domesday Book.
2. For examples see the cases discussed below. The holding of land 'of' someone is not considered here, since it is not always clear which were leased holdings, and which were held as part of the holder's subservience to the owner of the lands. Moreover the scribes used the term anachronistically as if an estate were held by feudal tenure before the Conquest. For example, at Ramsden Crays (DB ii f 54b) it was recorded that "ten ' & Serlo de Hamone q'd tenuit Goti' de Heroldo T.R.E.".

Finn has described as the 'middle classes' of eleventh century England[1] normally resulted from their being either in the soke of, or commended to, someone more powerful than themselves. Much of what is known about these two types of private lordship has been pieced together from entries in Domesday, and although many of them are ambiguous, it is possible to produce a general picture of the nature of both soke, and commendation.[2]

Soke

Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period kings granted estates to churches and individuals.[3] In addition to parting with land they also granted certain rights over it. The most common of these were sake and soke, which literally meant 'a cause', and a 'seeking', that is, the right of the grantee to hold his own court, and the obligation of the men within his franchise to attend it.[4] It would appear that grants of soke (as sake and soke were usually referred to) included more than jurisdictional rights, since they also included labour services, and the receipt of renders which were formerly paid to the king as part of the royal farm.[5] The

1. The Eastern Counties (1967), Chapter x, pp 122-129, a valuable introduction to this chapter.
2. These subjects have attracted a considerable body of literature, in particular because they are bound up with the question of whether feudalism existed in England before the Norman invasion. The starting point for much later discussion has been F W Maitland's Domesday Book and Beyond (1897, page references here are to the 1960 paperback edition), which acted as a stimulus to C Stephenson in his 'Feudalsim and its Antecedents in England, American Historical Rev xlviii (1943), 245-265, and 'Commendation and Related Problems in Domesday', EHR 59 (1944), 289-310. R R Darlington's 'The last phase of Anglo-Saxon history', History xxii (1937-8), 1-13 covers similar ground. Sir Frank Stenton's survey in Anglo-Saxon England (1975), 491-525 is invaluable, drawing on his earlier work such as Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw (1910). Other studies, by Demarest, and Dodwell are referred to below.
3. As considered above in Chapter 2, p p 34ff.
4. This was Maitland's conclusion, Domesday Book and Beyond, pp 114-115, which has been elaborated and expanded by C A Joy, 'Sokeright', unpublished University of Leeds PhD thesis 1974, Chapter 1, 'The meaning of sacu, socu, and "sake and soke"', pp 29-62.
5. Joy, op cit, p 66.

first extant reference to sake and soke survives in a charter of 956, and although the term seldom occurs in pre-Conquest charters, it is often referred to in Anglo-Saxon writs.[1] Although land and the soke over it were sometimes granted to the same beneficiary, this was not always the case, and an estate could be held by one lord, and the soke over it by another.[2] The large number of surviving spurious writs, supposedly issued by Edward the Confessor, suggest that later forgers believed that during his reign grants of sake and soke, either with the estates they covered, or in respect of land already held, were common.[3]

Sake and soke were the franchises specified most frequently in writs, but others which were often granted, included toll and team, infangentheof, hamsocn, grithbryce, mudbryce, and forsteall.[4] Maitland held that these gave to a lord comprehensive criminal jurisdiction over his men, a view challenged by Hurnard, who demonstrated that they allowed the grantee to deal with only minor offences, and that Maitland's idea of a reduction of the range of franchises by Henry II was erroneous.[5] She did, however

1. Joy, op cit, 113-124. Maitland had earlier drawn attention to the frequency with which references to sake and soke appear in writs, and the scarcity of the term in charters, in Domesday Book and Beyond, p 315. The grant of 956 is ASCh No 659, which only survives in a fourteenth century copy. It records the donation by King Eadwig of a number of estates to Bishop Oscytel.
2. For example, in 1043 x 1044 Edward the Confessor granted the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds the soke over the 8½ Thingoe hundreds which had belonged to his mother, but they did not own all the land within them, ASCh No 1069. Similarly Cnut, in 1020 gave Archbishop AEthelnoth sake and soke and other franchises over the Christchurch estates, which had already been received from various sources, ASCh no 986.
3. F E Harmer, Anglo-Saxon Writs (1952), passim. Note, for example, the number of forged Westminster writs she prints, Nos 73,74,76 etc.
4. They are discussed and explained in Harmer, op cit, pp 73 ff.
5. N Hurnard, 'The Anglo-Norman Franchises', EHR 64 (1949), 289-327, 433-460. Details of Maitland's views are set out on 289-293, and were based on the view that grithbryce, forstaell, and hamsocn, specified in II Cnut 12 and 15, were original pleas of the crown.

suggest that a distinction should be drawn between these minor franchises, and the greater liberties of the Isles of Ely, and Glastonbury, and the banleucas of Ramsey, and Bury, within which their ecclesiastical lords appointed justices of omnia placita.[1] These franchises do not seem to have originated with grants of the sake and soke type, but rather with either the transfer to the church of an ancient province and its courts, or extended rights of sanctuary, or both.[2] Hurnard's view of the restricted nature of sake and soke was not shared by Joy, who believed that the franchises gave the recipient the right to receive profits from pleas, but was not a precise phrase which signified specific pleas or jurisdiction.[3]

The earliest references to grants of sake and soke over land in Essex occur in three writs in favour of Westminster Abbey. Of these, two dating from the reign of Edward the Confessor are of doubtful authenticity.[4] The third, thought to be genuine, is a writ issued in Anglo-Saxon by William I in the early years of his reign, and recorded the gift to Westminster of Feering and North Ockendon in exchange for Windsor.[5] From such a meagre pre-Conquest archive it is impossible to be certain of the scope of the Essex

1. Ibid, 316-323, where the distinction between the franchises exercised in the baleuca of Bury, and the Thingoe hundreds is stressed.
2. Ibid, 322.
3. Joy, op cit, p 113.
4. They are ECE No 50, ASCh No 1118, Harmer, op cit, No 74 - the grant of Wennington and Aveley 1042 x 1044; and ECE No 65, ASCh No 1128, Harmer, op cit, No 84, confirmation of Leofcild's grant of Moulsham 1052 x 1053.
5. ECE No 73. See also B Harvey, Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages (1977), pp 333, 341, and 343.

franchises in the Anglo-Saxon period, although there are no references in Domesday or later sources, which suggest that other, more extensive liberties than those based on grants of sake and soke existed in addition to the Sokens, and burhs of Colchester and Maldon.[1]

Domesday states or implies that the following individuals and institutions (in addition to the king) possessed sokeright in Essex before the Norman Conquest:[2]

Bury St Edmund's Abbey[3]

Holy Trinity Canterbury[4]

Bishop of London[5]

St Ouen's Abbey Rouen[6]

St Paul's Cathedral[7]

Earl AElfgar (28)[8]

Asgeirr (20)[9]

1. These still existed in the seventeenth century, with others created after the Conquest, A E Allen (ed) Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book 1651-1661 (1974), pp xiv-xv.
2. For a similar list see Finn, op cit, pp 139-140.
3. DB ii, f 20, Stapleford Abbots, where 2 freemen were said to be in the soke of the manor. ASCh Nos 1071-2 are two writs in which Edward the Confessor granted the abbey sake and soke over all its land and men.
4. DB ii f 99b, Midebroc 'invaded' by Thierri Pointel, the soke of which belonged to Holy Trinity. ASCh 1088 is a writ similar to that referred to in the previous note.
5. DB ii, ff 10b, and 11 refer respectively to the bishop's soke over the land of a freeman at Copford, and his soke in Colchester. ECE No 94 is a confirmation of sake and soke over his lands to Bishop Maurice, 1085 x 1087.
6. DB ii f 22, details of the sokeland attached to West Mersea, considered further below.
7. Ibid, f 92b, a reference to a sokeman with 15 acres in Childerditch which belonged to the soke of Warley, a St Paul's manor.
8. Ibid, f 88, a passing reference to 4 freemen at Weston who dwelt in AElfgar's soke.
9. He owned half the soke over a freeman's holding at Roding, DB ii, f 61b.

Queen Eadgifu[1] (60)

Robert fitz Wimarc (147)[2]

Wihtgar (185)[3]

Wulfwine (199)[4]

Although Domesday does not indicate the franchises enjoyed by these immunists it seems likely that they had only rights of sake, soke, infangentheof, brithbryce, forstaell, and hamsocn, and that major pleas were reserved to the crown. It also appears to have been the case that their franchises were confined to their manors and any attached sokeland.[5] In the following paragraphs Domesday references to soke in Essex (including the king's) are described and analysed.

At Shopland the freeman who held the manor in 1066 had the soke of the 5 villeins and 2 sokemen attached to it; while at Putsey the land of the freeman over which Robert fitz Wimarc (147) had the soke before the Conquest was held by his son Suen after it.[6] An unusual entry relates to the one hide manor of Wix, held in 1086 by Hugh de Monttort. The hundred court did not know how he came to have possession of it, but provided the Domesday Commissioners with the information that before the Conquest Queen Eadgifu (60) who held the estate also owned the soke over it.[7]

1. DB ii, f 54, Wix, of which the Queen had the soke.
2. Robert had the soke of a freeman holding 38 acres at Putsey DB ii, f 45b.
3. There are four references to his soke at Roding Morell, Colne, Fordham, and Witesworda on DB ii ff 40b-41.
4. There appear to have been two individuals with this name who owned sokeright in 1066. One held Great Waltham freely with the soke, DB ii, f 58; the other owned the soke over the land of AElfric the sokeman (33A) at Radwinter, ibid, f 78.
5. Joy, op cit, p 63 noted that land over which a lord had sokeright could logically be called sokeland.
6. DB ii, f 34b, Shopland; and f 45b, Putsey.
7. DB ii, f 54.

The high rank and status of some of these sokeholders is in sharp contrast to the more humble men who possessed the soke over their own land. At Canewdon a freeman had the soke over his holding,[1] while at Great Waltham Wulfric (199) held 1 hide and 50 geld acres freely with its soke.[2] At Roding half the soke of a freeman's 1½ hide manor belonged to Asgeirr (20), and the other half was free. In 1086 the manor was held by Geoffrey de Mandeville and the king also gave him the soke over the half of it that was formerly free.[3] Saewine (150) and Eadsige (66) who together held 30 acres at Chignal were able to sell their land and its sake and soke to whoever they chose,[4] whilst Colman (54) at Roding Morrell could go with his sake and soke to seek another lord, although he had (to the apparent amazement of the Domesday scribes) been commended to Wihtgar (183).[5]

Not all were as free as Colman, and there are references to several men who could sell their land without their lord's permission, but the soke over it remained in the manor to which it was attached.[6] At Copford a freeman could commend himself to another lord, but the soke over his virgate remained in the

1. This seems to have been an appendage of a large manor worth £12 in 1066, when the identity of its holder is not stated. In 1086, it was held by Suen, DB ii, f 44b.
2. Ibid, f 58, 'lib'ae cu' soca'.
3. Ibid, f 61b, elucidated by Round in VCH Ex i, 511 fn 8. cu'
4. DB ii, f 59 "fuer' lib'i ita q'd ipsi possent uend'e tr'a soca & saca qo' uellent ut hund' testat'".
5. Ibid, f 40b, his freedom was described as in the previous note, with the remark that he "fuit homo Wisgari antecessoris Ricardi".
6. Examples may be cited from Prittlewell, ibid f 44; and Theydon Gernon, and Abbess Roding both described on f 50b.

Bishop of London's manor.[1] There were freemen within the soke of the Bury St Edmund's manor of Stapleford Abbots; whilst another 1086 reference records that the soke over 15 acres of Odo of Bayeux's Stifford manor lay in Ranulf Peverel's estate at Gray's Thurrock.[2] At Childerditch a sokeman could sell his 15 acres but the soke over it remained in the St Paul's manor of Little Warley.[3] Similarly, a Radwinter freeman named AElfric (33A) could sell his land but its soke remained in the hands of Wulfwine (199), Aubrey de Vere's predecessor.[4] There were even a few unfortunate individuals who were unable to leave their soke at all, and little freer than villeins. Four groups of them dwelt within the soke of Wihtgar (183),[5] whilst a group of five sokemen at Newenham were also in the same position.[6]

Although less numerous than those relating to the royal soke there are two references to socage payments being made to lay lords. Before the Conquest a sokeman with 3 virgates at Chreshall had paid 2d per year to Ingvar (112), the lord of the manor to which his land was attached,[7] while in 1086

1. DB ii, f 10b, this was because his land was part of the bishop's sokeland.
2. The freemen at Stapleford (DB ii f 20) were said to have been "in soca manerii", 'an exceptional phrase in Essex', as Round observed, VCH Ex i, 451 fn 7. The Gray's sokeland is duly entered in the description of the manor in Peverel's fief, DB ii, f 90.
3. Little Warley was according to Domesday an episcopal manor (f 10b). The 15 acres are referred to under both Warley, and Sasselinus' manor of Childerditch, ibid, f 92b.
4. DB ii, f 78, "potat' uende' t'ra' s' soca & soca remanebat antecessori Albici".
5. They were at Colne, Fordham, Witesworde, and Bardfield. Saling; DB ii, ff 40b-41b.
6. This is an entry of some interest since although only assessed at one hide Alsige's (7) manor was worth £11 in 1066, and had 6 ploughs on the demesne. His sokeland was a further 95 geld acres in extent, held by 5 sokemen "remanentes cu' soca", DB ii f 34.
7. DB ii, f 33b.

Richard son of Count Gilbert was exacting an annual payment of £15.6.6d from various of his sokemen, and burgesses of Sudbury, who dwelt in the Essex hundred of Hinckford. As Round remarked, this was a commuted, fixed payment, and not one that was varied by the profits of justice.[1]

Before the royal sokes are considered it is necessary to give further consideration to three private franchises in Essex which exhibit unusual features. The first, the manor of West Mersea, has the distinction of having the best documented history of any pre-Conquest Essex estate. The text of the charter which records its donation to St Ouen has been published by Hart.[2] It seems likely that the estate, with its various appendages was an ancient royal manor, although full details of its appurtenances are to be found not in the charter, but in Domesday. The former refers to 'a certain part of the island called Mersea, with all the lands and property adjacent to it, and with meadows, woods, and fisheries.'[3] It is only from Domesday that it is possible to ascertain that the 'land and property adjacent' comprised a house in Colchester, 10 sokemen and their land, and the forfeitures of the hundred of Winstree. In fact it is clear from Domesday that only two thirds of the profits from the sokemen and the court were granted to the

1. Ibid, f 40; Round's notes in VCH Ex i, 480 fn 1.
2. 'The Mersea Charter of Edward the Confessor', EAH 12 (1981), 94-102. Although establishing the text of the charter, Hart's comments upon both the bounds of the estate and its pre-1046 history have been disputed by others - N Crummy, 'Mersea Island; the 11th Century Boundaries', EAH 14 (1982), 87-93; and P B Boyden, 'Mersea before 1046; A Reconsideration', EAH 15 (1983), 173-175. Hart's view is that the Mersea estates mentioned in earlier wills were amalgamated into a single holding by Edward prior to its grant to St Ouen. However, this is contrary to normal practice, and the Domesday description of the manor suggests that it was an ancient royal possession previously let, Boyden, art cit.
3. Hart's translation, art cit, 101.

Norman abbey, an example of the royal practice of reserving a share of the proceeds from private jurisdictions.[1] The grant of West Mersea to St Ouen is of particular interest in that the abbey took over the royal manor and the perquisites associated with it _in toto_, making it, after the Sokens, geographically the most extensive franchise in Anglo-Saxon Essex.

The only known urban soke in Essex was the Bishop of London's in Colchester. According to Domesday he held in 1086 14 houses and 4 acres of land within the _burh_ which rendered no customary dues to anyone except scot to the bishop.[2] Morant identified this soke as part of his own parish of St Mary at the Wall's, which in the eighteenth century was exempt from the authority of the archdeacon.[3] Round, and Rickword have discussed the bishops' tenants in the franchise in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[4] but little is known of its earlier history beyond the description of it in Domesday. However, some early Anglo-Saxon burials have been found to the south of St Mary's churchyard,[5] and it may be that the south-west corner of the walled area of Colchester belonged to the bishops of London from early post-Roman times. Little is actually known about the nature of the soke, although from the early twelfth century it seems to have included the town's school or schools.[6] In common with all the

1. Finn, _op cit_ p 144, considers the retention of the 3rd penny from Suffolk hundreds by the earl. Presumably while Mersea was still in royal hands the earl had the 3rd penny from the sokemen and the pleas, in which case the abbey received all that the king had formerly had from these sources.
2. DB ii, f 11. Scot was rendered as geld by Round, _VCH Ex_ i, 440 fn 1.
3. Morant, 'History of Colchester', p 107, _History of Essex_ i (1768).
4. J H Round, 'The Bishop's 'Soke' in Colchester, _TEAS_ n.s. 14 (1918), 137-141, G Rickword, '"Hamesokne" in Colchester', _ibid_, 142-145.
5. Rodwell & Rodwell, _Historic Churches - a wasting asset_ (1977), pp 32-33.
6. Round, _art cit_, 141; Morant, _op cit_, 171 ff.

other Essex franchises it was confined to the bishop's own land.

The final Essex franchise to be considered is not described as a soke in Domesday, although it was doubtless in existence in 1086. This omission is ironic, since it was the most extensive rural liberty in the shire. The Sokens, known in 1086 as the manor of Eadwulfesness, comprised the parishes of Walton, Kirby, and Thorpe, and was the property of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's.[1] It is likely that prior to its grant the estate had been separated administratively from the rest of the hundred of Tendring because of the large number of Danish inhabitants in Thorpe and Kirby, two of the small number of Essex places with Scandinavian names.[2] The manor was apparently acquired by St Paul's between the 990s and 1066,[3] but it is difficult to ascertain both when Eadwulfesness was first mentioned as a soke, and the nature of the franchises exercised within it. Extracts from the Soken Customs have been published, which although demonstrating the unusual conditions of land tenure within the manor do not relate to its administrative or judicial status.[4] Morant noted

1. DB ii f 13b. In 1066 Bircho had been part of the manor, although leased to Engelric (75). By 1086 this holding had passed with his other estates to Eustace of Boulogne, DB ii f 32b. See also Round's note 'Birch 'Hall' in Kirby', TEAS ns 14 (1918), 363-364.
2. P Crummy, Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester (1981), p 30 fn 1.
3. As outlined in the account of the St Paul's Essex estates, above, p 128.
4. For example, by Morant, History of Essex (1768) i, 481, and by E A Wood, A History of Thorpe-le-Soken to the year 1890 (n.d., c1975), pp 6-7.

that the Sokens were an ecclesiastical peculiar, and also remarked that the "Lord of the Soken hath also the temporal exclusive privilege, that no bailiff can arrest within them, but his own."[1] In 1658-1659 the Sokens' parish constables felt themselves exempted from the obligation to collect rates made by the Essex Quarter Sessions,[2] and the Sokens had their own coroner until 1928, and Walton a gallows in 1335.[3] It is unlikely that the precise extent will ever be known of the franchises held by St Paul's in the Sokens before 1066, although they were clearly extensive for them to have survived into the modern period. They certainly possessed more than the sake and soke of the other Essex liberties, and there may have been few pleas reserved to the crown from the Sokens.

Approximately half of the references to soke in the Essex Domesday folios relate to the king's soke, and most of them mention customary payments. On three occasions it was simply stated that men dwelt (in 1086) in the king's soke,[4] or on land that was within it.[5] In Barstable hundred the king had 18 sokemen, who it may be presumed also dwelt in his soke, although this is not actually specified.[6] On four occasions it was recorded that what in

1. Loc cit. A similar point was made by Norden, and published in the 1695 edition of Camden's Britannia, p 359. Joy, op cit, p 154 observed that the fundamental element in all post-Conquest exercises of private jurisdiction was the right to deny access to the franchise by the sheriff.
2. Allen (ed), Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book, pp 123, 127.
3. Wood, op cit, pp 8, and 6 respectively.
4. Such as those at Alresford, DB ii, f 40b; and Stevington End, ibid, f 103b.
5. Of AElfric's (32) 25 acres at Fordham it was said "hec t'ra e' de socna regis", DB ii, f 38.
6. DB ii, f 1b, although where they lived, if they were all at the same place, is not stated.

King Edward's time had been royal sokeland had been acquired by others since the Conquest.[1]

The largest group of entries refers to freemen and sokemen which rendered customary dues at the royal manors on whose sokeland they dwelt. These payments are referred to in various ways - customary dues,[2] soke dues,[3] and the king's dues[4] - but it appears that they all refer to payments that men within a soke would have made to its lord.[5] In a number of cases the sums involved were specified - 10s 11d from 34 freemen at Witham,[6] 32d per year by Bricteva at Lexden;[7] £12 from Harold's reeve at Writtle;[8] 7s 8d from a man of Ranulf brother of Ilgar at Ardleigh who lived on 15 acres of the sokeland of the royal manor of Lawford;[9] and 10d from the land of a freeman at Chingford which was in the soke of Waltham.[10]

1. Examples include the half hide seized by Walter the Cook at Shalford, DB ii, ff 3b, and 95; 16 acres taken by Henry de Ferrers at Steeple, ibid, f 103; 6 acres held by Ralf de Limesi at Chigwell, ibid f 90b; and 30 acres of the king's soke at Wethersfield, held in both 1066 and 1086 by Stanheard (162), ibid f 98b.
2. "Reddentes consuetine", at Havering, DB ii, f 3.
3. "Reddebat socam", for example, Great Chesterford, DB ii, f 3b.
4. So described on an unspecified estate at the foot of f 98b, "reddit consuetudine reg'".
5. The holders of the sokeland of the manor of Lawford, DB ii, f 6b; "reddebat consuetudine omne' sup'dicto manero T.R.E."
6. DB ii, f 2, this was the sum rendered tunc.
7. DB ii, f 5; this was in 1086, Round in VCH Ex i, 432 fn 9.
8. DN ii, f 5b "reddentis omne' consuet' huic manerio scil' xii lib' postq' rex uenit in anglia'".
9. DB ii, ff 6, and 81b. On the latter folio it was said to be "in soca de Laleforda".
10. This was a manor assessed at 5 hides, valued semper at 70/- which "reddit x den' de soca ad Waltham", although there is no reference to the payment in the description of Waltham, f 15b. The Chingford estate is described on f 64.

These figures do not suggest a very regular scale of socage dues, at least in 1086 when they were all made. Even a priest with 30 geld acres in almoine at Wethersfield rendered soke, as did a villein with half a hide at Lexden.[1] A singular case was recorded at Writtle of a sokeman with half a hide who rendered the soke to the manor, but who could betake himself with the land wherever he chose, presumably to find another lord.[2] There are also references to those who had not paid any service or customary dues, such as Goldstan (97), a sokeman at White Roding who gave pledge that he would do so in the future.[3] Five freemen at Langford used to render the king a customary due of 15d in King Edward's time, but had presumably not done so since the Conquest.[4] The transference of the land led to losses of revenue to the royal manor of Havering,[5] in one case because a freeman transferred his allegiance to Westminster Abbey.[6] Finally, it may be noted that of 18 sokemen in the hundred of Hinckford it was said that they never rendered customary dues except the king's service.[7]

1. DB ii, f 4 (Wethersfield), and f 5 (Lexden), for the villein who "reddebat consuetudine".
2. Ibid, f 5b, "1 soc' reddens soca in manerio & tam cu' tra' sua poss & ire q'o uell & hunc Comes E. adjunxit sue t'rae".
3. Ibid, f 3, where he was described as a sokeman of King William.
4. Ibid, ff 68b-69, "q' reddebant regi xv d' de consuetudine T.R.E."
5. At Leyton the estate "reddebat T.R.E. consuetudine ad Hauelingas manerium regis & mo n' reddit", DB ii f 53, an entry repeated ibid, f 85; see also Round, VCH Ex i, 546 fn 4.
6. DB ii, f 100 - "In Hund' de Cefforda e' 1 lib' ho' de xl ac' q' p'tinebat ad Hauelingas T.R.E. que' mo ht' S'cs Petr' de Westmonastio'q'a sua sponte uenit ad abb'iam & n' reddit consuetudine' ad Hauelingas."
7. DB ii, f 4 "n'qua' reddider' consuetudine' p't' serviciu' regis".

Customary payments of this type were analysed in a series of papers by Miss Demarest during the 1920s. In twelfth and thirteenth century documents she found references to a tax known as hundred pennies, which was paid by the holders of certain estates. The term also occurs once in Domesday, in the description of Taunton, where these dues had been granted to the bishop of Winchester. She argued that these hundred pennies were recorded elsewhere in Domesday under different names, and that the customary dues paid to the chief manors in some south-western hundreds were hundred pennies. This tax was seen as part of the royal farm, in the same way that farms of a day or night were.[1] This view was challenged by Professor Stephenson, who demonstrated that the firma noctis was not a tax but a rent, and that the customary payments were nowhere identified as being identical to the firmae. He also suggested that the hundred pennies may have been no more than the earl's third penny.[2] Undeterred by this assault on her views Miss Demarest published a further paper which sought to show that the customary payments recorded in Domesday Book ii were also hundred pennies with another name.[3]

1. E B Demarest, 'The Hundred Pennies', EHR 33 (1918), 62-72, esp 66-69, 72. She claimed that references to payments of 2 ores of pennies in the hundred of Derby was a tax which pre-dated geld, and another example of hundred pennies - 'Inter Ripam et Mersham', EHR 38 (1923), 161-170, esp 163, 164.
2. C Stephenson, 'The "Firma Unius Noctis" and the Customs of the Hundred', EHR 39 (1924), 161-174, esp 161, 163-164; and 173 for the suggestion about the earl's third penny.
3. '"Consuetudi Regis" in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk', EHR 42 (1927), 161-179, where many of the Domesday references cited are also considered here; 161-168 are especially relevant to Essex.

Her attempt to amalgamate a series of apparently separate liabilities from very different parts of England, and reduce them to a single tax of unproven antiquity is not on balance very convincing.[1] It seems likely that most if not all of the customary payments recorded in the Essex Domesday text were socage dues. It is to be noted that many of them refer to royal sokeland, and that there are comparatively few instances of socage payments to lay or ecclesiastical barons. This may be because one of the matters which the Domesday Commissioners were to enquire into was the dues that the king was to have from each shire in a year, while there was no such requirement in the terms of reference for the investigation of the barons' estates.[2]

Commendation

The preceding pages have demonstrated that soke was a form of lordship exercised within specific territorial limits defined by royal grants. A more personal type of man-lord relationship was commendation, the other chief manifestation of private lordship in late Anglo-Saxon England. Commendation was the condition of being another man's man, of the weaker placing himself under the protection of one able to defend him, and represent him in court.[3] In turn, the man agreed to be faithful to his lord. There was no obligation on independent small holders to have a lord, although the

1. Cf Stephenson, art cit, 169 'We have to do with a number of distinct institutions accidentally brought together by financial arrangements.'
2. ASC 1085, Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles... (1892), i, 216 - "oðde hwilce gerihtæe he ahte to habbanne to xii monþum of ðæere scire".
3. The summary account presented here is based upon Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, pp 98-100, and Joy, op cit, pp 257-265.

Domesday scribes seem to have assumed that they all did.[1] The text also suggests that the relationship was based on mutual support, and did not necessarily bring any financial advantage to the lord, while the apparent ease with which men could choose those that they were commended to, and the absence of obvious benefits to the lord of commended men, has provoked scholarly debate on the exact nature of commendation in pre-Conquest England.

A consideration of the varying interpretation of commendation can most profitably begin with Professor Maitland's conclusions published in Domesday Book and Beyond[2]. There he drew attention to the differences recorded in Domesday between commendation and soke, and suggested that 'commendation seems to be put before us as the slightest bond that there can be between lord and man'.[3] Maitland realised that if the man's land became involved in the relationship then it became more binding, but believed that many men were able to retain their independence and go with their land to whatever lord they chose.[4] These views held the field unchallenged until 1944, when Stephenson published an article which pointed out the differences between the life-long man-lord relationships known from Continental Europe, and the apparent ease with which Maitland had suggested that their

1. Maitland took the view that the reference to lordless men in II Athelstan 2 related to landless men, rather than those whose land was sufficient surety for their good behaviour, op cit, p 99.
2. Pp 96-105.
3. Ibid, p 96.
4. Ibid, p 100 ff.

English contemporaries could commend themselves to another lord.[1] Professor Stephenson reinterpreted some of the Domesday entries cited by Maitland to show that the conditions they recorded bore a close resemblance to continental practice. In particular he restated the view originally advanced by Round that because a man could dispose of his land it did not mean that he could commend himself to another lord.[2] In addition, he observed from a number of Domesday entries the strong presumption that the small proprietors and their land could be assigned to a particular lord, and that they were not able to become the men of whoever they chose.[3]

Stephenson's paper represented an important stage in the evolution of a comprehensive theory of the nature of commendation, and Miss Dodwell was able to draw on both his work and Maitland's study in her article published in 1948.[4] Based on a study of the Eastern Counties and Cambridgeshire, she was able to demonstrate that men recorded in Domesday as having been commended to others could be divided into two groups. The first of these comprised those who rented sokeland, and were often obliged to commend themselves to the owner of the soke on which they dwelt, if he had also been granted the right to the men's commendation. Many of these were free to leave their holdings, (by giving up their tenancies), in which case the sake, soke, and commendation

1. 'Commendation and Related Problems in Domesday', EHR 59 (1944), 289-310.
2. Ibid, pp 292 ff. Stephenson noted, p 293, that Round 'strangely enough, appears to have adopted Maitland's opinion in preference to his own', stated in Feudal England.
3. 'Commendation and Related Problems...', 302.
4. 'East Anglian Commendation', EHR 63 (1948), 289-306.

remained in the land, and the man was free to choose another lord.[1] This 'tenurial' commendation has been considered in detail by Dr Joy, in an analysis of 'Soke, Service, and Commendation in Domesday Book'.[2] Although commendation could be personal and soluble, it did, particularly on certain estates of the abbeys of Bury and Ely, become inherent in the land. Within the Suffolk hundreds of which the abbeys held the soke both churches possessed the commendation of men who were tenants of their land, and the terms of their leases restricted their ability to dispose of their holdings. On the other hand, there were in Dodwell's second group, men whose ties of commendation were personal rather than territorial, who owned their own land, and became the men of the lord of the nearest manor for protection. Unless their relationship involved other obligations or economic dependence commendation for them represented a fragile bond.[3]

In Essex where the manorial structure was very different from that in Suffolk, and where there were no extensive ecclesiastical sokes,[4] each of the Domesday references to commendation in the shire seems to refer to men who owned their land, and who individually commended themselves to a lord for their own protection.[5] It seems certain that there were many more Essex landholders commended to more powerful neighbours than Domesday suggests was the case, since the scribes frequently recorded the fact only when it was used by a

1. Ibid, 290-302.
2. Op cit, chapter 7, pp 256-287.
3. Ibid, pp 305-306.
4. The differing manorial structures of Essex and East Anglia and considered by Finn, in chapter xii of The Eastern Counties, pp 155 ff - 'The Manor and Manorial Values'.
5. Maitland, op cit, p 98, quoted an entry from DB i, f 58, to the effect that a man 'commended himself to Bishop Herman for his defence'.

Norman tenant-in-chief as a pretext for an illegal act against the man or his land.[1] On three occasions post-Conquest barons either claimed or held the land of men commended to their Anglo-Saxon predecessors. One of these instances was of two men at South Hanningfield who had commended themselves to the abbot of Ely, the lord of the neighbouring manor of Rettendon. However, the Chelmsford hundred jury did not support the church's claim to their land in 1086 because the men held their land freely and were only commended to the abbot.[2]

In the north of the shire, at Pebmarsh, Bumpstead, Saling, and Ovingham, Richard son of Count Gilbert had illegally 'invaded' the holdings of six men who had only been commended to Wihtgar (183) his predecessor.[3] It may be that he should not have held Little Bentley either, since before the Conquest it had belonged to Alwine (14), who held it freely, could sell it to whoever he chose, and was only commended to Wihtgar.[4] On two other occasions it was recorded that although commended to others men might take their land in search of another lord. These referred to land at Horkesley, where a freeman had been commended to Robert fitz Wimarc (147),[5] and Prested, where another freeman had been commended to the predecessor of Ranulf Peverel.[6] Finally, two other entries indicate that a lord received no financial benefits from having men commended to him. Of Wulfric

1. Eight references to commendation are considered here, Finn, op cit, 132, noted six.
2. DB ii, f 25, where it is recorded "hund' testat' q'd ipsi tenebant libe t'ra sua' & tantumo erant com'dati abbi' de Eli". See also Round's note, VCH Ex i, 459, fn 3.
3. DB ii, f 102 - "De isti sup'dictis hoibs' habuit Wisgar' com'datione tantu'". See also the case at Hasingham, ibid, f 102b.
4. Ibid, f 40b, "erat co'm'dat' Wisgaro potens t'ra sua uend'e".
5. Ibid, f 47b "Q'da lib' homo erat com'dat' Rob'to tenuit vii ac' & dim' & pot'at ire qo uella". It is interesting that this piece of land was not apparently part of the sokeland of Robert's Horkesley manor.
6. DB ii, f 75, where the wording is almost identical to that referring to Horkesley quoted in the preceding note. The identity of Ranulf's predecessor here is not obvious.

(190) who held 40 acres at Colne, and had been commended to Wihtgar (183), it was said that the latter had no rights over him but such as commendation gave him.[1] A more dramatic demonstration of this is to be found in the description of the burh of Maldon, where it is recorded that a sokeman who in 1086 belonged to Ranulf Peverel was paying him a customary payment (consuet') of three shillings per year, but before the Conquest his predecessor only had the man's commendation.[2]

Conclusion

This chapter has indicated the principal differences between soke and commendation, which may be summarised as follows. Soke was exercised over areas specified in royal grants, while commendation was a voluntary relationship entered into by men who owned their land. Those who dwelt in sokes were usually obliged to make customary payments to their lord, whereas the burdens upon a free man commended to a more powerful neighbour were in contrast very light. A final difference was that whereas those living in sokes frequently were unable to change their status, the commended man had entered into that condition of his own accord.

The decision by Anglo-Saxon kings to grant to a religious institution or powerful lay man soke over his estates, or perhaps the land of others represented the delegation to the

1. DB ii, f 102b, Richard had 'invaded' this holding, and "antec' ei' nulla habuit consuetudine n' comdatione"; consuetudine being the word used elsewhere in Domesday to refer to customary payments, as shown above, p 298.
2. Ibid, f 6, "in te'pr' r.e. n' habuit ei' antec' ni tantumo' c'md'oem" This famous case is also referred to by Maitland, op cit, p 97, and Joy, op cit, p 260. Ranulf's predecessor here was presumably Sigeweard of Maldon (157).

lord of certain royal rights. Joy has noted that the English kings were able to maintain that the beneficiaries of these donations exercised their rights as royal delegates.[1] The grants of these profits of justice and other sources of income represented a financial loss to the exchequer, and they may have been made because by the mid-eleventh century the ability of kings to give away land was severely restricted by the size of the royal demesne.[2]

Of the twelve sokeholders of 1066 Essex identified in Domesday Book all but two appear in the list of major landholders (Table 15, page 155). The exceptions were St Ouen's Abbey Rouen, which was not considered to be a major Essex landholder since it held only estate in the shire, although its geld assessment would have placed the abbey 21st in Table 14 (page 153); and one of the Wulfwines (199), who held Great Waltham freely with its soke.[3] The beneficiaries of royal grants of soke were thus, for the most part, the major landholders of the shire, who were recipients not only of royal land, but were also delegated the responsibility of carrying out certain legal and administrative functions within their estates.

Four individuals who had men commended to them in 1066 can be identified from Domesday, two of whom - Robert fitz Wimarc (147), and Wihtgar (185), were also the owners of soke in Essex.

1. Op cit, p 170. See also the succeeding pages in which she considered whether lords of sokes had their own courts within their franchises.
2. As considered above, pp 157ff.
3. For details, see above, pp 88-90.

The other two - the abbot of Ely, and Sigeweard of Maldon (157) - were amongst the major landholders of the shire. Such a state of affairs is scarcely surprising, since there would be little point in a man seeking the protection of another to attach himself to anyone other than one of the major landholders of the shire.

It was seen in Chapter 7 that powerful landholders were able to enjoy political power within the shire through their influence over hundred courts. The present chapter has shown that they also did so through their lordship over men who dwelt within their sokes, or were commended to them. The latter, in common with the control of a hundred, represented an extension of their power beyond the boundaries of their own estates, and demonstrates the political advantages which derived from the ownership of extensive tracts of land on the eve of the Norman Conquest.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

Introduction

This study is believed to be the first attempt to reconstruct the pattern of landholding and public administration in any English shire on the eve of the Norman Conquest. While general aspects of both of these subjects, and the diplomas and law codes that are essential to their understanding, have received a considerable amount of scholarly attention,[1] there have been no investigations of the sort attempted here into the distribution of landed wealth in a shire, and its interaction with local administration. While many of the ecclesiastical landholders, and a few of the laymen and their estates, have been examined, many of the resulting studies do not explore very thoroughly the important subjects of estate management, and the acquisition and disposal of land.[2]

The lack of other, similar studies, means that the validity of the results of the present investigation is difficult to test. It is impossible to compare the conclusions reached here on the structure of landholding society in Essex with those from any other shire, while the detailed consideration of the Essex estates of individual landholders can only be related in general terms to the totality of their landed wealth. Similarly,

1. The basic studies of diplomas are listed in the notes to pages 34-6 of Chapter 2. The definitive edition of the Anglo-Saxon law codes is that of F Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Anglesachsen, 3 vols (1903-16). There are also valuable notes on the laws in EHD i, 357-369.
2. Studies of those who held land in Essex are referred to in Chapters 3 and 4.

although a considerable amount of work on hundreds, much of it by Dr Cam,[1] has been published, there are no surveys of the hundreds of any individual shires for the pre-Conquest period, while the lack of research into their post-1066 history in Essex hindered the analysis in Chapter 7.

While these reservations and limitations must be accounted for in considering the results of this study, excessive caution is to be avoided, if the maximum use is to be made of the considerable amount of information on late Anglo-Saxon Essex contained in Domesday Book. This data, much of which is not to be found in other sources, has been used here in ways, and on a scale that have not been attempted before, to shed new light on important aspects of pre-Conquest Essex. It is believed that the conclusions presented here are based upon firm, if sometimes ambiguous, evidence although how valid they are only future research will show.

1. These are referred to in Chapter 6, and detailed in the Bibliography.

Landholding

In Chapters 3 and 4 a total of 334 ecclesiastical institutions, men, and women, were identified in Domesday Book as having held land in Essex in 1066. Of these, 28 held 5 estates or more, and were designated holders of large amounts of land, or large landholders. They constituted 8.4% of the total, the majority, 91.6%, each having 4 estates or fewer. Over half, 55.3% had only one estate each. It appeared that those who held land in the shire could be divided into 'large', and 'small' landholders, with few 'middle ranking' ones bridging the gap between them. There seems to have been a competitive market for land in Anglo-Saxon England, which probably made it comparatively expensive, although there is no clear evidence that its price was rising at a dramatic rate.

The basic reason why so many people held only small amounts of land was the practice of partible inheritance, whereby a testator's property was shared between his children, other relatives, and the church. Not only were estates shared out, but large holdings were divided, so that there was a general tendency for the number of estates to increase, and their average size to fall. The existence of numbers of heirs, each with less land than they felt befitted their status, would inevitably lead to them competing to buy other estates, thereby driving up the price of land. As the price of land rose, it is likely that the number of people with sufficient means to purchase it would fall, thereby reducing their ability to transfer from the 'small' landholders group to that of the 'large' landholders.

An examination of the estates held by large landholders, both lay and ecclesiastical, reveals that their lands usually included two types of holdings. The most numerous were estates with low geld assessments, which had presumably been inherited or purchased. However, the core of their landed wealth were a few manors often with high geld assessments, which were apparently ancient royal estates given to them by the king. This suggests that the'large' landholders were created by the king, and that only someone with an exceptional amount of liquid wealth would be able to buy themselves into the first rank of landholders.

Most of the preceding discussion (based on conclusions reached in Chapter 5) relates principally to secular landholders, although much of it applies equally to ecclesiastical institutions and their estates. The main difference between the two groups lay in the fact that ecclesiastical institutions had a continuous existence, and hence their estates were not dispersed at the end of each generation. It is, however, to be noted that despite this continuity of tenure the ecclesiastical institutions did not have appreciably more land than their lay counterparts, even though they occupied six of the first 12 places in the table of leading Essex landholders.[1] In part this was probably because of their dependence on crown grants, which it has been suggested were rather less frequent in the later Anglo-Saxon period than had been the case earlier, but it is also likely that once sufficient land had been accumulated to supply the needs of the house,

1. Table 15, p 155

there was not necessarily any need to obtain more, and their financial resources may have inhibited their ability to do so.

The first part of this study also shed important light on the geographical distribution of the estates of individual land-holders, both within and beyond the boundaries of Essex.

It was seen in Chapter 3 that of the 324 men and women holding land in Essex in 1066 only 34 (10.5%) had estates elsewhere. Of these 34 all but four had land in Suffolk, seven of them had estates in Cambridgeshire, and the figures for the other shires represented show that only those of national importance - Asgeirr (20), Harold (107), and Robert fitz Wimarc (143) - had holdings in more than two or three shires in addition to their Essex estates. The out-shire estates of ecclesiastical land-holders were not considered in Chapter 4, but the distribution of their holdings within Essex was investigated, and with remarkable results. It was seen how their land was concentrated in those parts of the shire which were either close to their churches, or near to water transport that could be used to convey produce to them.[1] A policy of letting or outright disposal of holdings that were too far away to supply fresh food to the monks, nuns, or canons, was clearly to be seen, particularly at Christ Church Canterbury, and Ely Abbey. For both laymen and church bodies their lands could be administered most economically if their estates were close together, and near to the centre of their activities. Crops produced too

1. Map 17, pp145-6 which indicates the location of church estates in Essex, makes this point forcibly.

far away to arrive at the church or the lord's table in a fit state to eat were sold locally, although it may have been more financially rewarding to let the estates rather than to farm them and sell the harvest.

The structure of landholding society in late Anglo-Saxon Essex may be summarised as one dominated by a few ecclesiastical institutions and laymen, each holding substantial quantities of land. Their wealth owed a great deal to royal favour, which added an extra dimension to their local political influence. Around the core of the large estates that they had received from the king they were able, within limits, to decide where their other estates were to be sited, which could have important repercussions in the administration of the shire.

Public administration

By 1066 Essex had been fully integrated into the administration of the kingdom of England. What was once the core of a sixth century kingdom had become an English shire, divided into a number of hundreds, with several urban centres, or burhs. The introduction of these units of local administration into Essex probably followed Edward the Elder's conquest of the shire from the Danes. The close connection that existed between the local and central governance of the realm was illustrated in Chapter 1, when it was seen that the ealdormen, and ministri who administered Essex were frequent attenders at court, and witnesses to diplomas drawn up at its meetings.

The Essex burhs, examined in Chapter 8, were probably not administered by royal courtiers, but the hand of the king was nevertheless to be seen very clearly in them also. Maldon and Witham, both established as military bases by Edward the Elder, exhibit similarities in their extra-mural topography. There are also important common features in the layouts of Horndon and Newport, both probably founded in the 1040s. Colchester, the largest of the Essex towns, seems to have included a royal estate within its walls, which probably housed the administrative headquarters of the shire. None of the Essex towns were mediatized, and the dues and customary payments they rendered constituted a useful source of income to the royal treasury.

While successive Anglo-Saxon kings maintained a tight, and visible control over the shire, and burhs of Essex, their hand is not quite so clearly to be seen in the hundreds. In Chapter 7 it was noted that the number and boundaries of Essex hundreds had been subjected to considerable alterations in the years before 1066, and that hundreds had apparently been created for the benefit of powerful landholders, who received two thirds of the forfeitures taken in their courts. There is also evidence to suggest that even if they did not have a formal royal grant of the lordship of a hundred, a landholder with a concentration of estates within it could influence the proceedings of the hundred court.

This evidence could be taken to indicate that royal control over the hundreds was less firm than it was over the burhs and shire of Essex. However, royal approval would have been required to create a new hundred, or substantially to alter

the boundaries of an existing one, and there are other signs which suggest that the crown played an important role in the politics that lay behind the private tenure of hundreds. Certainty is impossible since much of the relevant documentation has been lost, but five hundreds were probably in private hands in 1066 - Clavering, held by Robert fitz Wimarc (147); Dunmow, probably by Asgeirr (20); Freshwell, held by Wihtgar (183); Thunreslau by Wulfwine (199); and Winstree, by St Ouen's Abbey. In addition, Edward the Confessor apparently divided into two the hundreds of Dengie and Uttlesford so that Sigeweard's (157) landed wealth in any of the four portions thus created was insufficient to allow him to influence their administration.

It is possible to see royal control over the Essex hundreds operating in two ways. First, in the creation of 'large' landholders through donations of land, and second by granting to some of them the lordships of hundreds. The flexibility of the hundreds rendered them a valuable means by which Anglo-Saxon kings were able to reward their faithful servants, and deny to those of whom they did not approve the political influence that they sought to exercise.

Private Lordship

The discussion in Chapter 9 demonstrated that private lordship in pre-Conquest Essex took one of two forms. The most extensive type was that of sokeright, the delegation by the king of certain of his rights and revenues to the holder of an estate. It was seen that eleven ecclesiastical institutions and lay landholders (in addition to the king) owned the soke over some of their

estates. The granting of sokeright to Bury Abbey, Canterbury Cathedral, the Bishop of London, and the Canons of St Paul's is of interest, given the apparent exclusion of ecclesiastical institutions (with the exception of St Ouen's Abbey) from the list of those holding the lordships of Essex hundreds. The laymen who owned sokeright were Asgeirr (20), Queen Eadgifu (60), Robert fitz Wimarc (147), Wihtgar (183), and Wulfwine (199) - some of whom also had men commended to them. Commendation in Essex was a voluntary and personal bond between man and lord, and among those who had others commended to them were Wihtgar, Sigeweard, and the Abbot of Ely. They were all important landholders, since there was little point in a weaker man commending himself to someone who was not sufficiently powerful to be able to act decisively on his behalf.

As grants of sokeright were made by the king he had direct control over those who exercised this privilege, although he was less able to determine which landholders had others commended to them. However, Anglo-Saxon kings were, as has already been noted, responsible for creating major landholders, and so indirectly had some control over those who came to have enough political influence to encourage others to seek their protection.

Conclusion

The recurrent theme to have emerged throughout this chapter is the important, if not decisive, role of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in the creation of the structure of landholding and public administration in pre-Conquest Essex. Through grants of extensive royal manors it was the king who created 'large'

landholders, both lay and ecclesiastical. Not only did the kings 'make' them, they also appear to have kept records of the amount, and location of their land. The similarity in the extents of the estates of leading landholders suggests that the level of donations was such as to keep the holdings of religious institutions on a par with those of their lay counterparts. Moreover, the implications of the division of Dengie and Uttlesford hundreds is that the king's officials knew, or could easily ascertain, not only the hundreds in which landholders had their estates, but where within the hundreds those estates were situated.

The king not only created the leaders of Anglo-Saxon society, he also played a direct role in the local administration of his realm. The ealdormen and *ministri* who administered its shires were selected from among the king's thegns, and were regular attenders at court. The Essex *burhs* remained firmly in royal hands, and all show signs of deliberate, organised planning. Within these urban centres worked moneyers who struck the nation's currency, the silver pennies that bore on their obverse a portrait of the king under whose authority they were minted. By granting the lordships of hundreds to the men he had made the leaders of local society the king was able to enhance their prestige, and give them a share of the profits of justice. Further financial benefit came to those who had been granted socage rights over their land.

The distribution of landed wealth, and the public administration of Essex on the eve of the Norman Conquest are to be seen as the results of deliberate acts by a succession of Anglo-Saxon kings.

The tight royal control over key aspects of the shire's life was not simply the result of the king's position as the largest holder of land in Essex, but owed much more to the prestige and authority attached to his throne.[1] The Anglo-Saxon monarchy was strong, and its strength has been seen clearly in this study of Essex. It was a strength that the first Norman king was able to use and develop as he created his new feudal realm after the Battle of Hastings.[2]

1. The success with which the crown was able to control the leading members of Essex society is in contrast to the difficulties Ethelred II had with the nobility at a national level, a subject examined in depth by P E Stafford, 'The Reign of AEthelred II, a study in the limitation of royal policy and action', in D Hill (Ed) Ethelred The Unready (1978), pp 15-46, esp 17-37.
2. For a general discussion of the later Anglo-Saxon monarchy see Chapter 4, 'Kingship and the King' of H R Loyn's The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1087 (1984), pp 81-93.

APPENDIX

THE LAY LANDHOLDERS OF 1066 ESSEX

Introduction

When recorded the names of those who held land in 1066 were usually rendered in Domesday Book in abbreviated and phonetic form. There are two indices to these pre-Conquest names, one published in 1833 by Sir Henry Ellis[1], the other, by Olaf von Feilitzen[2], appeared 104 years later. The earlier work is an index to the name forms as they appear in the text, whereas the more recent one is arranged by their correct Anglo-Saxon spellings. Although both indices have been used in the compilation of this Appendix, the arrangement of the entries follows von Feilitzen in that they are listed alphabetically by their correct spellings.

To each name mentioned in the Essex Domesday text a number has been assigned, and all references to it are listed together in the order in which they appear in the folios. Complex names, which were formed of simple names with epithets (e.g. AElfric Cild (37)) are numbered separately from the references to the simple name (cf AElfric (32)). Each reference to the name is recorded on a separate line, the data being presented in the order folio reference, name of estate, hundred in which it was situated (abbreviated), assessment of the holding, name of its 1086 tenant-in-chief, and (where given) the status of the 1066 occupant.[3]

1. A General Introduction to Domesday Book ii (1833), 1-273
2. The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book (1937)
3. Estates that were held freely are also indicated at the right hand end of the entries.

Once the information had been arranged in this way an attempt was made to identify the holdings of individual landholders. Names to which there was only one reference posed few problems[4], but where the same name occurred more than once various means had to be employed to divide up the estates into the holdings of hypothetical individuals. The chief considerations were the geographical relationship between the estates, the identity of the tenant-in-chief who held them in 1086, whether other individuals with the same name who held land in neighbouring shires could be identified with their namesakes in Essex, and the frequency with which a name occurred in Domesday.

A fundamental problem is that whilst in some cases (e.g. Asgeirr (20)) the whole of an individual's estates passed to one Norman, in others (e.g. Harold (107)) they did not. Whilst there are instances (e.g. Grimkell (100)) where there is little doubt on both geographical and successor grounds that both of the estates held in 1066 by someone of that name clearly belonged to the same individual, there are others (e.g. Saxi (147A)) where the reverse was the case. Perusal of the pages that follow will show that often the geographical and successor arguments contradict each other.

Whilst some of the attributions of groups of estates to individuals are in little or no doubt, there are also others - particularly where there are many references to the same name (e.g. Alwine (4)

4. In the biographical dictionary the absence of comment on landholders with only one estate (e.g. Beorhtsige (44)) indicates that there are either no other references to the name in Domesday, or that those that are recorded in other shires are unlikely to refer to the individual who held land in Essex.

and Wulfwine (199)) - where the resulting division amounts to little more than guess work. However, as noted in Chapter 3[5], the overall picture which emerges from this attempt to identify individual landholders is so striking as to suggest that it gives a fairly accurate view of the distribution of landed wealth in Essex on the eve of the Norman Conquest.

5. Above, pp 49ff.

Statistical Abstract

Notes

1. The total extent of the holdings, and their number, refer to those actually farmed by the landholder, and does not include the land of men commended to or otherwise dependent on him.

2. For landholders recorded as holding a fraction of an estate, the extent given is that of the complete holding, the fraction indicates the number of men it was held with. For example, AElfheah (30) held his estate with one other man, so he is stated to have held ½ an estate, the total extent of which was 2 hides 26 acres. In the case of men who held both fractions of estates and complete ones, the extent given is of all the holdings in which they had interests. Footnotes explain the numbers of complete and part estates held.

3. Landholders who held land outside Essex are indicated with an asterisk.

4. In the 'assessment' column 'h' indicates hides, and 'a' geld acres.

5. The numbered footnotes appear together at the end of the tables, p336.

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
1	AKI	5½h					2				
2	ALGAR	½h 20a					1				
		37a									1
		3½h 12½a									2
		2h 15a					1				
		2h 26a									½
		20a									1
3	ALMAER	16h 5a					2				
4	ALMAER OF BORLEY	½h 6a									½
5	ALMAER HOLEFEST	3½h					2				
6	ALRIC	2h					½				
		2½h									½
		5h					1				
		3½h									2
		4½ h 15a					3				
7	ALSIGE	8½h 20a					3				
	*	1h									1
8	ALSIGE BOLLA	2h					1				
9	ALSTAN	40a					1/13				
		15a					1				
		10a									1
		16½h					2				
		1½h					2				
		6½h 2a					2				
		30a									1
		1h 37½a									1
10	ALSTAN STRIC	2h									2
11	ALWEARD	15h 105½a					9				

			ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
12	ALWEARD DORE		40a									1
13	ALWIG VENATOR		½h 26½a									1
14	ALWINE		3½h 34a					4				
			2h									2
			½h 42½a									2
			7h				2					
			30a									½
			40a									1
			6h 35a					2				
			1½h					1				
15	ALWINE STILLE		1½h					1				
16	ALWYNN		1h 40a					1				
17	ANUND		1½h									1
18	ASBIORN		2h									1
19	ASGAUTOR		8h					1				
20	ASGEIRR	*	51h 46a			15						
21	ASKELL		5½h									2
22	AUÐUN		6½h 37a					1				
23	AZUR		1½h									1
24	AEÐELGYÐ	*	29h-10a							5		
25	AEÐELRIC		2h									1
26	AEÐELSTAN		4h									1
27	AELFÐRYD		9h							1		
28	AELFGAR	*	35h 75a	9								
29	AELFGIFU		1½h							2		
30	AELFHEAH		2h 26a									½
31	AELFHELM		1h 25a									1
32	AELFRIC		2½h					3				
			6½h					3				

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
		1½h 17a									2
		6½h					2				
		25a									1
		30a									1
		15a									1
		5h-15a									1
		3½h				1					
		3h									2
		1h				1					
		2h				1					
		2h				1					
33	AELFRIC PRIEST FREEMAN	4½h							2		
33A	AELFRIC SOKEMAN	½h 25a						2			
34	AELFRIC OF ALRESFORD	½h 6a									½
35	AELFRIC BIGA	40a									1
36	AELFRIC CAMP *	24h 35a									4
37	AELFRIC CILD	1h					1				
38	AELFRIC WANTS	2½h									2
39	AELFWINE	5½h 15a									1½[1]
40	AELFWINE GODTUNA *	3h									1
41	AETHELMAER	13½h89½a				4					
		4 ½h					2				
		6½h 8a									1½[1]
		5h					1				
		4h 50a				1					

	ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
42 BEORHTMAER	½h 20a					3				
	5h				1					
	4½h									1
	1h					1				
	2½h									1
	4h 60a									3
43 BEORHTRIC	80a									1
	55a					1				
44 BEORHTSIGE	1h-10a									1
45 BEORHTWINE	20a									1
46 BEORHTWULF	2½h					1				
	30a									1
47 BODDA	2h					1				
48 BONDI *	22h			3						
	3h								$1\frac{1}{2}^{1}$	
49 BOSI	2½h					1				
50 BRORDA	2½h									2
51 BRUN	3½h 75a					2				
52 BURGHEARD	4h					1				
53 COLA	9h 70a					$3\frac{1}{2}^{2}$				
54 COLMAN	1h 7a					2				
55 COLSWEGEN	½h 10a					1				
56 DEORWULF	4a									1
57 DODDING	2½h									1
58 DOT	2½h 45a									2
59 DUFE	2h								1	
	15a									1
60 EADGIFU REGINA*	35h 75a	8								
*	3h 110a	6								

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
61	EADGIFU	30a								1	
62	EADMAER	2½h					2				
63	EADNOÐ	9½h 25a					4				
64	EADRIC	6½h					3				
		2h					3				
65	EADRIC OF EASTHORP	8h 25a									4
66	EADSIGE	1½h 15a						1½[3]			
67	EADWEALD	4½h									3[4]
68	EADWEARD	1½h									1
		5h 90a									2
		4½h									2
69	EADWEARD son of SUAN *	½h									1
70	EADWIG	10a					1				
71	EADWINE	45a									1
		½h						1			
72	EADWINE GRUT	1½h 33a									2
73	EALDRAED	2h									1
74	EARNWULF	1½h					1				
75	ENGELRIC *	11 h									3
76	ERLINGR	2½h									1
77	FELAGI	2½h									3
78	FINNR *	9h 13a									3
79	FREOWINE	½h									1
80	FRIÐELBERN *	4h					1				
81	FRITHELBERT	23h				3					
82	GAUTARR	10h					2				

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
83	GODGIFU	½h 23a								1	
84	GODGYÐ	4h- 8a								3	
85	GODHERE *	2½h 2a				2					
86	GODING	½h									1
		6a									1
87	GODMANN	2h					1				
		70a				2					
88	GODRIC	1h 10a									1
		40a					1				
		3½h				2					
		2½h				1					
		22½h 12a				8					
		2h 40a									1
		8h				1					
		15a				1					
89	GODRIC OF COLCHESTER	9h 25a				3					
90	GODRIC POINCUS	1h- 10a									1
91	GODRIC SCIPRI	1½h									1
92	GODWINE	4½h									2
		2½h				1					
		10h				1					
		14½h 38a				3					
		3h 10a									2
		½h 15a					1				
		½h					1				
		4½h					3				
		4½h					1				
		40a					1				

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
93	GODWINE THE ENGLISHMAN	1½a									1
94	GODWINE THE DEACON	1½h 4a							2		
95	GODWINE THE PRIEST	1h 5a							1		
96	GODWINE SECH	1h-8a									1
97	GOLDSTAN	½h 6a									½
98	GOTHILD	3½h 95a									3
99	GOTI	12h-20a					4				
100	GRIMKELL	3h-8a							1½[5]		
101	GRIMR	10a							1[6]		
		1h									1
		1h									1
		½h					1				
		½h					1				
		½h 23a					½				
102	GUNNARR	30a									1
103	GUÐMUND *	20½h 13a				7					
104	GYRÐR	4h-15a									1
105	HAKUN	5½h									2
106	HALFDAN	5h					1				
107	HAROLD *	190h 86a	28								
108	HEORUWULF	2h					2				
109	HOLD	1a					1				
110	HOWARD	5h-20a									½
110A	HRAFNGAR	½h									1
111	INGOLFR	4½h					2				
112	INGVAR *	37h 35a				7					
113	KETILL *	2h				1					

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
114	LAG(H)MAN	30a									1
115	LEMAR	5a									½
116	LEODMAER	7h 75a						4			
117	LEOFCILD *	6½h 56½a			5						
118	LEOFDAEG	80a									1
119	LEOFGIFU	9h 80a								4	
120	LEOFGYÐ	½h								1	
121	LEOFHILD	¾h								1	
122	LEOFING	4½h					1				
123	LEOFRAED	7h					1				
124	LEOFRIC	1h									1
		30a									1
		2½h									2
125	LEOFRIC SOKEMAN OF WIHTGAR	30a						1			
126	LEOFSIGE	3½h 5a					3				
127	LEOFSTAN	6¼h					6				
		8h									1[7]
		16½h									6
128	LEOFSUNU *	10h									4
129	LEOFWEARD	1h					1				
130	LEOFWINE	½h					1				
		19h 40a									4
		1½h									½
		1h									1
		2½h 33a					2				
		15a									1
		2½h									½
		2¼h					1				

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
		5a									1
		5a									1
131	LEOFWINE ENGLISHMAN	7a									1
132	LEOFWINE CILT *	13h 13a									4
133	LEOFWINE CROC *	1½h 40a									2
134	LUTTING	40a									1
135	MANNING	2½h 40a					1				
136	MAERWYNN	4h								1	
137	MODING	2½h 30a									2
138	MODWIN	½h 12a									1
139	NORÐMANN	2½h 10a									2
		3h 35a									1
		3h									1
140	ORDGAR	4h					3				
141	ORDMAER	½h					1				
142	ORDRIC	15a									1
143	OSBEORHT	2½h									1
144	OSLAC	3h 42½a					3				
145	OSWEARD	3½h									1
146	PATER AELFRIC	1h 80a									1
147	ROTBERT FITZ WIMARC *	40h									8
147A	SAXI *	5h 32a			3						
148	SAEGAR	2h 30a									1
149	SAEMAER	1½h 45a					1				
150	SAEWINE THE PRIEST	15a							1		
151	SAEWULF	4½h									1
152	SERCAR	1h									1
153	SERLO	4½h									1

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
154	SIGAR	4h 10a					1				
155	SIGERAED	6½h					1				
156	SIGERIC *	4½h									1
157	SIGEWEARD THEGN *	72h 109a				14					
158	SIGEWEARD FREEMAN	1½h					1				
159	SIGEWEARD	3½h									2
		3h									1
160	SKALPI *	3½h 15a			2						
161	SPROT	1h									1
162	STANHEARD	2h 15a									2
163	STYRKARR	3½h									1
164	SVEINN	5½h									2
165	SVEINN SUART *	9½h									2
166	SWETING	30a					1				
167	SYLVI	2½h 31a									½
168	TIZELIN	1½h									1
169	TOFA - HILDA	3a								1	
170	TOFI	54a					1				
171	TOLI	2½h									1
172	TOPI	2½h 31a									½
173	TOSTI *	1h									1
	*	15a					1				
174	TOTI	1h					1				
175	ÞORBIORN	15h 82½a									4
176	ÞORGAUTR	3½h					1				
177	ÞORKELL	21½h 26a					9				
178	ÞORSTEINN	1h 40a									1
		35a					1				

			ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
179	ÞURBERT		9h									2
180	ULFR	*	3½h				1					
181	VALÞIOFR	*	10½h	1								
182	VIDI		1½h									1
183	WIHTGAR	*	27½h									7
184	WIHTGAR		1½h 15a					1				
185	WILLELM		5h									½
186	WINGE		1½h									1
187	WULFA		1h									1
188	WULFHEA H		2½h					1				
189	WULFMAER		½h									1
190	WULFRIC		1h 40a					1				
			4½h									2
			40a				1					
			13½h 25a				7					
			1h									1
			10a									1
			4h 47a				3					
			30a				1					
			6h 20a									3
			8h				1					
			1½h				1					
			2h				1					
			5a									1
			30a				1					

		ASSESSMENT	ROYALTY	STALLERS	HOUSECARLS	THEGNS	FREEMEN	SOKEMEN	CLERGY	WOMEN	NOT STATED
191	WULFRIC OF BRANDON	½h 6a							½		
192	WULFRIC CASSA	3h									1
193	WULFRIC CAWA	2½h									1
194	WULFRIC PRIEST	14a							1		
195	WULFSIGE	5h- 20a					½				
		½h									1
		½h					1				
		1½h									1
		2½h					3				
196	WULFSTAN	1h									1
197	WULFWEARD	2½h 25a							½		
		½h 15a									1
198	WULFWIG	½h									1
199	WULFWINE	5½h 2a					5				
		4h									3
		4½h- 4½a					2½[8]				
		2½h 45a					1				
	*	32h 40a				12					
		2½h									½
		15a									1
		10a									1
200	WULFWINE	64a					⅓				
201	WULFWINE HAPRA	½h									1

1. Held two estates, one of them jointly with someone else.
2. Held four estates, one jointly with someone else.
3. Held two estates, one jointly with someone else.
4. Described in the text as King Edward's reeve.
5. Held two estates, one jointly with someone else.
6. Described in the text as a reeve.
7. Described in the text as a reeve.
8. Held three estates, one jointly with someone else.

Abbreviations

Hundred names are abbreviated in the appendix only as follows:

BA	Barstable
BE	Becontree
CF	Chafford
CH	Chelmsford
CL	Clavering
DE	Dengie
DU	Dunmow
F	Freshwell
HA	Harlow
HI	Hinckford
L	Lexden
M	Maldon
O	Ongar
R	Rochford
TE	Tendring
TH	Thunreslau
TR	Thurrock
U	Uttlesford
WA	Waltham
WN	Winstree
WT	Witham

Other abbreviations used only in the Appendix:

GIDB - Sir H Ellis, A General Introduction to Domesday Book Vol ii (1833)

PCPN - O Von Feilitzen, The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book (1937)

f - Domesday Book ii folios

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

1 Aki (Freeman)

46 Notley (WT) ½ hide Suen

91b Gt Easton (DU) 5 hides Matthew of Mortain

Aki was not a very common name in 1066 (GIDB, 2; PCPN, P 142) but it is hard to associate any of the Akis of Hertfordshire or Suffolk with these two Essex entries. In Hertfordshire three Akis (DB i, ff 138 bis, 142) were succeeded by different Normans, although the housecarl on f 130b is like those in Suffolk (ff 438b, 439 bis, 440 - actually 3 men commended to him; f 309 seems to be an error by Ellis) were all succeeded by Robert Blund. On balance it is probable that these two Essex holdings were both held by the same man, who probably held no other land.

2 Algar

24b Kelvedon Hatch (O) ½ hide 20 acres Bishop of Bayeux Freeman

40b Alresford (TE) 37 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

41 Witesworda (L) 12½ acres (of Wihtgar) ditto

64b Purleigh (DE) 2 hides 15 acres Robert Gernon Freeman

74 Lammarsh (HI) 3½ hides Ranulf Peverel

81 Mountnessing[1] (CH) 2 hides 26 acres Ranulf brother of Ilger

102 Saling (F) 20 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert (Invasion)

Notes

1 Held with Alfheah (30)

Algar was a common name in late Anglo-Saxon England (PCPN, PP 144-146). On geographical grounds the Mountnessing and Kelvedon estates could have belonged to the same man, although the joint ownership of Mountnessing renders this unlikely. The three estates later held by Richard are all of small extent and not particularly close together. If Witesworda was Wither's Farm Mount Bures as has been suggested[1], that and Lammarsh are close enough together to suggest common ownership. It should be noted that the Algar of Lammarsh received the lion's share of the estate when it was divided between him and his brother (cf Round VCH Ex i, 530 fn 2). It may well be that the other five holdings each belonged to different individuals.

Notes

1 W R Powell, 'Essex Domesday Topography since 1903', EAH forthcoming.

3 Almaer

32 Tolleshunt (TR) 2 hides 5 acres Eustace of Boulogne

33b Elmdon (U) 14 hides Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

Although common elsewhere (PCPN pp 147-9) Almaers were scarce in Essex and there seems little doubt but that both of these estates, even if some distance apart, belonged to the same freeman.

4 Almaer de B'Lea (Borley)

101b Location not stated ½ hide 6 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert (Invasion)

Almaer was still occupying this estate which he held with 3

others - AElfric (34), Goldstan (97) and Wulfric (191) - at the time of the Domesday inquest, and was one of four Essex men identified by his place of residence.

5 Almaer Holefest

36 Moulsham Hall (HA) 1½ hides William of Warrene Freeman

93b Matching (HA) 1½ hides Edmund son of Algot

Identified by Round (VCH Ex i, 558 fn 5) as the estates of the same man, since they conjoin. It is to be noted that they were held by different tenants-in-chief in 1086. No other Almaer Holefests are recorded by von Feilitzen (PCPN, pp 291-2).

6 Alric

28 Layer (WN) 2½ hides Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

32 Goldhanger (TR) 1 hide 15 acres Eustace of Boulogne

42 Langdon (BA) 5 hides Suen Thegn

59b Ardleigh[1] (TE) 2 hides Geoffrey de Mandeville Freeman

70b Michaelstow (TE) 2½ hides Ralph Baignard

83b Mistley (TE) 1 hide Roger de Ramis

92b Ramsden Crays & Belhouse[2] (BA) 2½ hides Sasselinus

97b Tolleshunt (TR) 1 hide Gonduin

Notes

1 He held this estate as 2 manors jointly with his brother Bondi (48) and they could not withdraw from it without the permission of Earl AElfgar (28).
2 Held with Wulfwine (199).

These eight estates are all fairly close together, stretching in a line north east - south west across the county. It seems likely that the "joint" estates (ff 59b, 92b) were held by men with no interests elsewhere. The thegn's five hides at Langdon were also probably his only land. The other Tendring estates (ff 70b, 83b) could well have belonged to the same man, as could the remaining ones in Winstree and Thurstable, as they were also fairly close together (ff 28, 32, 97b).

7 Alsige

24b	Rainham (CF)	4 hides	Bishop of Bayeux	Freeman
34	Newenham (F)	1 hide	Eustace of Boulogne	
53	Leyton (BE)	3½ hides	Hugh de Montfort	
72	Inga (BA)	1 hide 20 acres	Ranulf Peverel	

Alsige was a fairly common name in 1066 (PCPN, pp 151-2). The freeman at Rainham cannot be convincingly identified with his namesakes in East Anglia (ff 178 bis, 437), although the predecessor of Eustace at Newenham may be the same man who held Rattlesden (Suffolk - f 303), which was also held by Eustace in 1086. From their proximity it may be wondered whether the estates in the south of the county (ff 24b, 53, 72) were all held by the same individual.

8 Alsige Bolla, Freeman

80 Gt Farndon (Harlow) 2 hides Ranulf brother of Ilger

9 Alstan

55 Notley (WT) ½ hide Homo Freeman

58b Chignall (CH) 10 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

63b Rivenhall (WT) ½ hide Robert Gernon Freeman

64 West Ham (BE) 8½ hides Robert Gernon Freeman

67b Dikeley (TE) 1 hide 37½ acres Robert Gernon

71b Bowers Gifford (BA) 1 hide Ranulf Peverel Freeman

72b Ham (BE) 8½ hides Ranulf Peverel Freeman

75 Springfield (CH) 5 hides 20 acres Ranulf Peverel

84b Fyfield (O) 30 acres John fitz Waleran

85b Hanningfield (CH) 1½ hides Robert fitz Corbutio Freeman

100b Stanbourne (DE) 40 acres Homo Dapifer Freeman

102 Toppesfield (HI) 15 acres Robert son of Count Gilbert Freeman

It seems likely that since Alstan was a common name in 1066 (PCPN, pp 152-3) these 12 estates would have been held by several individuals. The two small holdings that were invaded by Homo and Robert (ff 100b, 102) were probably the only holdings of these men - that at Stanbourne being held with 12 other freemen. The same probably was true at Chignall, where Alstan remained as Geoffrey's tenant in 1086. It will be suggested that the Bowers Gifford estate (f 71b) was held by Alstan Stric (10), which leaves 8 to consider. The two Ham estates (ff 64, 72b) could well belong together, and Notley (f 55) and Rivenhall (f 63b) are also close to each other. Springfield (f 75) and Hanningfield (f 85b) are near enough to have belonged to the same man. The 30 acre holding at Fyfield (f 84b), and the outlier in Tendring Hundred (f 67b), were

probably the only estates of the Alstans who held them.

10 Alstan Stric

14 Fanton Hall (BA) 1 hide St Peter Westminster

The name is unique in Domesday (PCPN, 153), but it seems likely that the hide held by an Alstan at Bowers Gifford (f 71b) close by could also have belonged to him.

11 Alweard

11b Tendring (TE) 1 hide 45 acres Fief of Bishop of London

24 Hacflet (Bradwell Quay?) (DE) 2 hides 30 acres Bishop of Bayeux Freeman

24b Thurrock (CF) 1 hide 40 acres Bishop of Bayeux Freeman

66b Rainham (CF) 3½ hides Robert Gernon

70 Burnham (DE) 4 hides 12 acres Ralf Baignard Freeman

74b Lammarsh (HI) 1½ hides Ranulf Peverel

95 Cricksea (DE) 1 hide Moduin

95b Creeping Hall (L) 30 acres Moduin

102b Creeping Hall (L) 68½ acres Richard son of Count Gilbert (Invasion)

Alweard was a fairly common name in late Anglo-Saxon England (PCPN, pp 155-7), so it may be that these estates were held by several individuals, although it could equally well be that they belonged to the same person. The chief problem is that those which are geographically close together did not pass to the same Norman, whereas those that did - e.g. Odo of Bayeux's two - are some distance apart. Although Alweards are common in DB i, the name only occurs twice in DB ii (a Suffolk freeman ff 320b, 321) apart from these Essex entries.

12 Alweard Dore

94 Newenden (BA) 40 acres Roger the Marshal

This is a unique name (PCPN, p 157), and it is perhaps likely that his epiphet was recorded to prevent confusion with the other Alweards.

13 Alwig Venator

102b West Bergholt (L) ½ hide 26½ acres Richard son of Count Gilbert (Invasion)

The only Huntsman of this name mentioned in Domesday[1] who held his single estate freely.

Note

1 PCPN, p 158. Round VCH Ex i, 573 fn 6, claimed that he was not listed by Ellis in GIDB. However, he is, on page 37.

14 Alwine

3 Latchingdon (DE) ½ hide 20 acres King Freeman

12 Hubbridge Hall (WI) ½ hide Fief of Bishop of London Freeman

12b Middlemead (DE) ½ hide 14 acres Fief of Bishop of London Freeman

24b Cranham (CF) 1½ hides Bishop of Bayeux Freeman

30b Laver (O) 1 hide 40 acres Eustace of Boulogne

31 Fyfield (O) 80 acres Eustace of Boulogne

35b Little Bentley (TE) 42½ acres Alan of Brittany

40b Little Bentley[1] (TE) ½ hide Richard son of Count Gilbert

42 West Thorndon (BA) 5 hides 15 acres Suen Thegn

43 Benfleet (BA) 2 hides Suen Freeman

53b Halesduna (? Purleigh)(OE)2 hides Hugh de Montfort Thegn

78 Stevington End[2] (F) 30 acres Aubrey de Vere

81b Cowbridge (CH) ½ hide 6½ acres Ranulf brother of Ilger

82b Rayne (HI) 1 hide 20 acres Roger de Ramis Freeman

94 Great Waltham (CH) 40 acres Roger the Marshal

97 Heydon (U) 5 hides 15 acres Robert fitz Roscelin Freeman

Notes

1 Held it freely commended to Wihtgar (183)
2 Held with Ordic (142)

Alwine was a fairly common name in 1066 (PCPN, pp 158-60), and unlike the Alweards these estates must have belonged to more than one individual, since in general terms there is a correlation between the geographical position and later territorial history of them. It seems likely that the two estates held in 1086 by the Bishop of London belonged to one freeman (ff 12, 12b), whilst the two held by Eustace also probably had the same owner (ff 30b, 31). The two Little Bentley estates (ff 35b, 40b) also go together, as do Suen's two (ff 42, 43). Whether this thegn's holding is to be linked with the estate held by Hugh de Montfort (f 53b) is uncertain. It may be that the small Latchingdon estate (f 3) should be added to the other freeman's holdings nearby (ff 12, 12b); to which indeed the f 53b holding could perhaps be added. Whether the Cranham holding (f 24b) should join this group or the land of Suen's predecessor is unclear. The small holding at Stevington End is likely to have been a singleton, as is the f 94 entry. The other two at Rayne and Heydon, both attributed to freemen could go together, although the five hide plus holding at the latter could well have been enough to support a freeman.

Division of estates between individuals

A. 12, 12b, 3, 53b

B. 30b, 31

C. 35b, 40b

D. 42, 43

E. 78

F. 94

G. 82b, 97

15 Alwine Stille

71 Wendon Lofts (U) 1½ hides Ralf Baignard Freeman

Ellis (GIDB, 230) and von Feilitzen (PCPN, 160) list only one other man with this name, who was succeeded in a Hampshire estate by the Bishop of Winchester (DB i, f .40). It is an open question whether Alwine Stille also held any of the Essex estates credited to other Alwines. Those on ff 78 and 97 are possibilities from the geographical considerations, although not so attractive from other points of view - particularly the joint ownership of the former.

16 Alwyn

42 Childerditch (B) 1 hide 40 acres Suen Freewoman

There are only four instances of this name occurring in Domesday, one of which was deleted (PCPN, p 160). A "certain woman" of that name in Buckinghamshire was succeeded by Walter Gifford (DB i, f 147), and there was also a freeman named Alwynn in Suffolk (f 308b). Whether (as seems likely) these three were different individuals, there is little doubt that the Essex Alwyn had no other land in the shire.

17 Anund the Dane

25b Walkfares (CH) 1½ hides Bishop of Bayeux

An old Swedish name, it occurs only a few times in Domesday (PCPN, pp 161 -2). There were Anunds in Suffolk, but the distance of this holding from that county suggests that this was his only estate - in Essex and elsewhere.

18 Asbiorn

89b Fordham (L) 2 hides Hugh de Gurnai

19 Asgautr Freeman

93 Sharing Hall Mistley (TE) 8 hides William Levic

It is difficult to identify on successor grounds this man with the Asgautrs in Suffolk (f 295), Hertfordshire (DB i, f 142) or Cambridgeshire (ibid, f 200b). This estate (identified from W R Powell, 'Essex Domesday Topography since 1903', EAH, forthcoming) was, however, sufficient to support a freeman on its own.

20 Asgeirr the Staller

Succeeded by Geoffrey de Mandeville at:

58 Great Waltham (CH) 8 hides

59b Black Notley (WT) 1½ hides 45 acres

60 Roding Hall (WT) 1 hide

60 Little Hallingbury (HA) 1 hide

60 Matching (HA) 40 acres

60 High Easter (DU) 2 hides (claimed by Ely)

61 Bigods (DU) 4 hides 10 acres

61 Little Dunmow (DU) 1½ hides

61 Shellow Bowells (DU) 1½ hides

61b White Roding (DU) 2 hides

61b Dunmow (DU) ½ hide 15 acres

61b Little Canfield (DU) ½ hide 16 acres

61b Roding (DU) 2 hides-10 acres

61b Roding[1] (DU) 1½ hides

62 Dunmow[2] (DU) 30 acres

62 White Roding[3] (DU) ½ hide

62 Saffron Walden (U) 19½ hides

62b Birchanger[2] (U) ½ hide

62b Plegdon[2] (CL) 1 hide 20 acres

63 Weneswic (DE) 5 hides 40 acres

Notes

1 Asgeirr had half the soke of a freeman here
2 Held by a sokeman of his
3 Held of Asgeirr by Leofgyð (120)

All of Asgeirr's estates, including those held of him, passed to Geoffrey, and are fully considered in Chapter 3, pp 61-66.

21 Askell

37b Boreham (CH) ½ hide William of Warrene

91b Margaretting (CH) 5 hides Matthew of Mortagne

These two estates must have belonged to the same man. In Suffolk two adjacent estates (ff 405b, 448b) were also pretty certainly the property of the same Askell, although considerations of distance make it questionable whether all four belonged to the one individual - the name is not uncommon (PCPN, pp 67-8).

22 Audun the Dane, Freeman

25 Barricks High Easter (DU) 6½ hides 37 acres Bishop of Bayeux

23 Azur

88b Wakes Colne (L) 1½ hides Robert Malet

Ellis (GIDB, 44) lists an estate on f 91b as having belonged to Azur, but this is a mistake, and that at Walkes Colne was his only Essex holding.

24 AEdelgyð

30b	Chipping Ongar (O)	1 hide	Eustace of Boulogne		
69	Little Dunmow (DU)	4½ hides	)		Freely
69b	Wimbish (U)	8 hides	)	Ralph Baignard	

71	Henham (F)	13½ hides - 10 acres	)
			)
71	Ashdon (F)	2 hides	)

Notwithstanding the isolation of the Dunmow manor from the other three the four estates held by Ralph in 1086 must have belonged in 1066 to the "certain woman" of f 69. AEdelgyd was a common name, and it may be that the small estate at Ongar also belonged to Ralph's predecessor. An AEdelgyd was succeeded by Baignard in Norfolk (ff 251, 252, 250b bis), and Suffolk (f 415b) - and by Raynold fitz Ivo in Norfolk (232b). It seems likely that all of these estates belonged to the same woman, the widow of Purstan, for whom see J L Fisher, TEAS xxii (new series), 98-104; PCPN, pp 183-4, and works cited in p 183 fn 5; and above, p 49.

25 AEdelric

14b	Kelvedon Hatch	(O)	2 hides	St Peter's Westminster

The circumstances under which the Abbey obtained this manor are described in Domesday. It seems likely that AEdelric actually occupied it on the day of King Edward's death, and that it was his only Essex holding.

26 AEdelstan

25b	Thorrington	(T)	4 hides	Bishop of Bayeux

27 AElfdryd, Quedam Femina

9b	Laindon	(BA)	9 hides	Bishop of London

28 AElfgar Comes

3b Great Chesterford (U) 10 hides King

3b Shalford (HI) 5½ hides King

4 Finchingfield (HI) 2½ hides King

4 Wethersfield (HI) 2 hides - 15 acres King

21b Felsted (HI) 5 hides Holy Trinity Caen

21b Great Baddow (CH) 8 hides Holy Trinity Caen

36b Dunmow (DU) ½ hide William of Warrene

59b Ardleigh[1] (TE) 2 hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

85 Small Land (WT) 2 hides Robert fitz Corbutio

88 Weston[2] (HI) 1 hide 50 acres Roger Bigod

96b Felsted[3] (HI) ½ hide Roger God-save-the-ladies

98 Gestingthorpe (HI) ½ hide Otto the Goldsmith

98 Middleton[4] (HI) 1½ hides 28 acres Gilbert the Priest

102 Great Bardfield[5] (F) 1½ hides Richard son of Count Gilbert

Notes

1 Held by Bondi (48) and Alric (6), neither of whom could leave without AElfgar's permission.
2 Held by four freemen in AElfgar's soke.
3 Held of AElfgar by Wulfsige (195).
4 Held by a sokeman of AElfgar's
5 Held of AElfgar by Felagi (77).

AElfgar's nine demesne estates lay in a compact group in the north-western corner of Essex. The lands of his underlings were more scattered, although in common with his own holdings were succeeded to by a variety of Normans, unlike those of Asgeirr (20).

29 AElfgifu Freewoman

80 Great Parndon (HA) ½ hide Ranulf brother of Ilgar

100 Mashbury (CH) 1 hide Ulvric

The East Anglian AElfgifus (ff 160b bis, 335) were not succeeded by either Ranulf or Ulvric, and as these two Essex holdings were not too far apart they were probably the property of the same woman.

30 AElfheah

81 Mountnessing (CH) 2 hides 26 acres Ranulf brother of Ilgar

AElfheah held this estate with Algar (2), and it seems likely that for both of them it was their only holding.

31 AElfhelm

83b Bradfield (TE) 1 hide 25 acres Roger de Ramis

32 AElfric

4b Steeple (DE) 1 hide King Freeman

11 Cranham (CF) 3 hides 40 acres Fief of Bishop of London

11b Little Totham (R) ½ hide Fief of Bishop of London

12 Braxted (WT) 1 hide Fief of Bishop of London Freeman

12 Chadwell (BA) 2 hides Fief of Bishop of London Thegn

24b Stifford (CF) 1½ hides Bishop of Bayeux Freeman

29b Boxted (L) 4½ hides Eustace of Boulogne

33 Lawford (TE) 2 hides Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

38 Fordham (L) 25 acres William of Warenne Freely

55 Notley (WT) 30 acres Hamo Dapifer

63b Ramsden (BA) ½ hide Robert Gernon Freely

66 Wivenhoe (L) 5 hides-15 acres Robert Gernon

69b Tolleshunt Knights (WN) 1 hide Ralf Baignard Freeman

70b Michaelstowe (TE) 1 hide Ralf Baignard

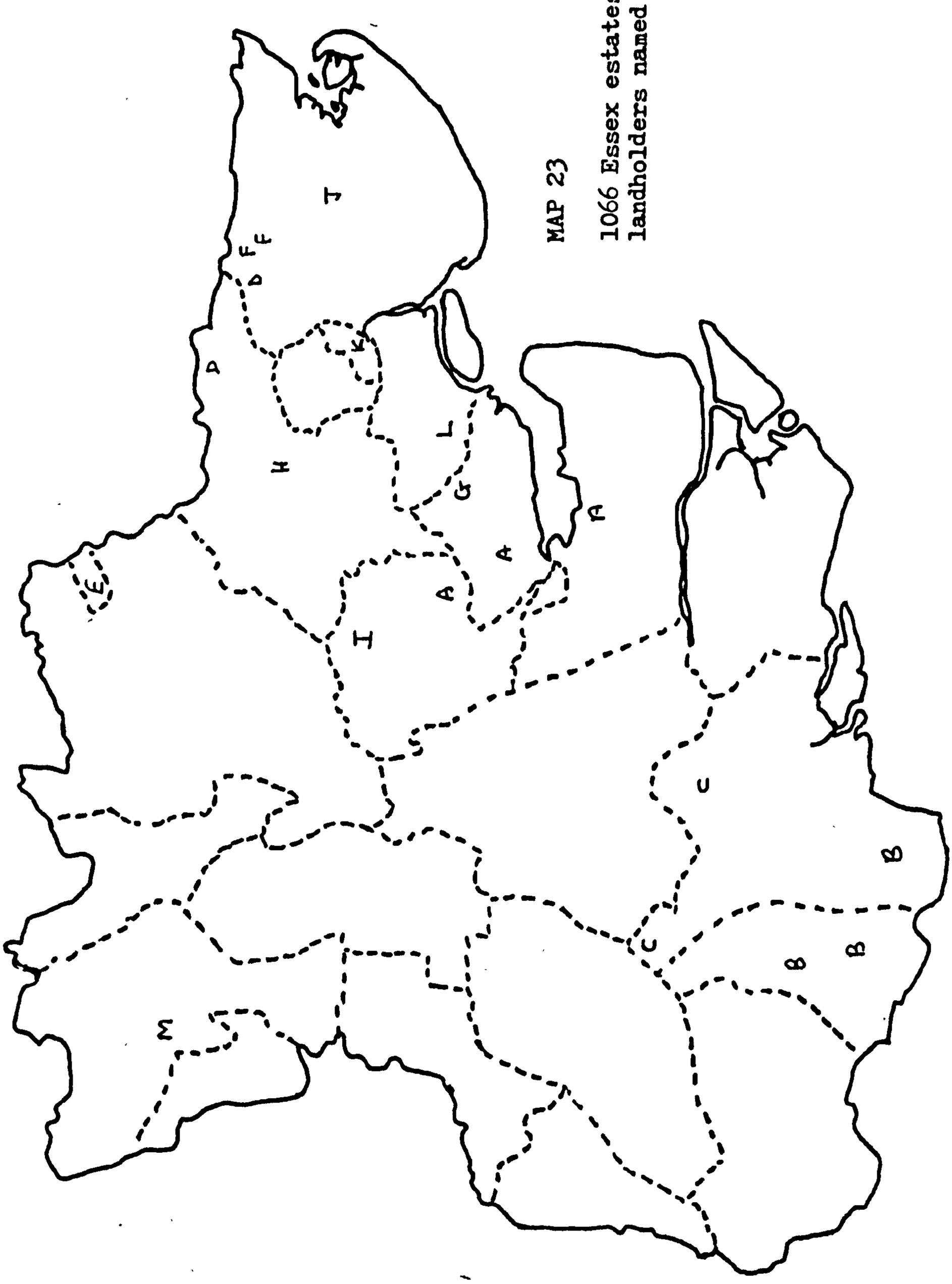
79 Balingdon (TH) 3½ hides Peter de Valognes Freeman

85 Doddinghurst (BA) 1 hide 17 acres Robert fitz Corbutio

Freeman

91b	Manningtree (TE)	2 hides	Countess of Aumale	
93	Wicken Bonhunt (U)	2 hides	Sasselinus	Freeman
93	Wigborough (WN)	2 hides	Hugh of St Quintin	Freeman
95b	Tendring (TE)	15 acres	Moduin	

As the above list (together with those that follow) demonstrate AElfric was a very common name in late Anglo-Saxon England (PCPN, pp 176-80). Thus we must allow for these estates, scattered liberally across the shire, having been held by a number of individuals. The two estates (ff 11b, 12) in Thurstable and Witham held in 1086 by the Bishop could well have belonged to the same freeman, who may also have had Steeple (f 4b). He was probably not the same as the freeman with land in Chafford (ff 11, 24b) and Barstable (f 12) - who indeed (Chadwell) was apparently a thegn. If these two groups of estates were the holdings of two individuals it is to be noted that the thegn's land was assessed at more than twice the hidage of the freeman's. It could be that the two holdings in Barstable held freely (ff 63b, 85) were the possessions of the same individual, whilst this could also be true of the couple held in 1086 by Eustace (ff 29b, 33). The small holdings at Fordham (f 38), and Notley (f 55) are likely to have been the only land of small proprietors, and the same was probably true at Tendring (f 95b). On a larger scale the Wivenhoe holding succeeded to by Robert Gernon (f 66) would have comfortably supported a freeman, as the 3½ hides of Balingdon probably did another in the north of the shire (f 79). Of the remainder, the distance between Tolleshunt Knight (f 69b), and Manningtree (f 70b) could argue against these two having been in common ownership, although the latter estate would go well with the Countess of Aumale's (f 91b). It seems likely that the other two (f 93 bis), and perhaps Tolleshunt Knights, were all individual holdings - each



MAP 23

1066 Essex estates of landholders named AElfric (32)

of freemen.

An attempt to demonstrate the division of these holdings amongst the hypothetical individuals is shown in Map 23 page 353, and tabulated here:

A	4b, 11b, 12	H	38
B	11, 24b, 12	I	55
C	63b, 85	J	95b
D	29b, 33	K	66
E	79	L	93
F	70b, 91b	M	93
G	69b		

33 AElfric Priest, Freeman

42 West Tilbury (BA) 2 hides Suen

42 Horndon-on-the-Hill (BA) 2½ hides Suen

These two estates must have belonged to the same man, who it is hard to connect with any other Essex AElfrics.

33A AElfric Sokeman

78 Radwinter (F) ½ hide 15 acres Aubrey de Vere

78 Stevington End (F) 40 acres Aubrey de Vere

These were apparently his only estates, since it is hard to identify him with any of the other AElfrics.

34 AElfric of Alresford

101b Location not stated ½ hide 6 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

This estate, invaded by Richard, was held by AElfric with three others, Almaer (4), Goldstan (97), and Wulfric (191), who still tenanted it in 1086.

35 AElfric Biga

30 Colne Engaine (L) 40 acres Eustace of Boulogne

This is the only occurrance of the name in Domesday (PCPN, p 179). It may be that AElfric Biga was the AElfric (32) who preceded Eustace at Boxted (f 29b) and Lawford (f 33), although this is perhaps unlikely in view of the frequency with which the name occurs in Domesday.

36 AElfric Camp

67b Great Oakley (TE) 10 hides Robert Gernon

70b Ramsey (TE) 7 hides 35 acres Ralf Baignard

83 Dedham (L) 2½ hides Roger de Ramis

83b Bradfield (TE) 4½ hides Roger de Ramis

Round (VCH Ex i, 353) cited AElfric Camp as an instance of a Saxon landholder whose estates were divided between several Norman tenants-in-chief - three in Essex, and more in other shires. He held five manors in Cambridgeshire, and three in Suffolk, in addition to the four in Essex. One of his Suffolk holdings (Cornard, f 448) was invaded by Wihtgar (183) but was held in 1086 by Eudo Dapifer (Layham, f 403b), and Roger de Ramis (f 421b, an unidentified holding held in 1066 by Uluric of AElfric). In Cambridgeshire he was succeeded by Robert Gernon twice (DB i, f 196b bis), and Eudo fitz Hubert thrice (ibid, f 197b ter), which is broadly in line with the post-Conquest history of his Essex holdings. See also the notes in

Chapter 3, p 66.

37 AElfric Cild, Freeman

64 Matching (HA) 1 hide Robert Gernon

Not described as freeman by Ellis (GIDB, 28), and noted as a unique reference by von Feilitzen (PCPN, p 178), it is difficult on geographical grounds to identify him with any of the other Essex AElfrics.

38 AElfric Wants

51b Radwinter (F) 15 acres Eudo Dapifer

51b Arkesden (U) 2 hides 15 acres Eudo Dapifer

These estates clearly belonged to the same man, the only Essex AElfric succeeded by Eudo. He seems to have survived the Conquest, since in the Suffolk text nearly two folios are occupied with descriptions of land, chiefly in the half hundred of Sampford, described as 'Terra Regis qua' Aluric' waz custodit' (ff 287, 287b).

39 AElfwine

19 Strethall (U) 5 hides Abbey of Ely

19b Heydon (U) ½ hide 15 acres Abbey of Ely

Clearly the estates of the same man, and his only ones in Essex. The Strethall estate he held jointly with Willelm (185).

40 AElfwine Godtuna

36 Quickbury (HA) 3 hides William of Warrene

Von Feilitzen (PCPN, p 181 fn 4) provides references to a charter and three writs which mention AElfric Godtuna, in addition to the Domesday entries for his seven Hertfordshire manors, and this one in Essex. Shortly before the Confessor's death he gave land at Ayot to St Peter's Westminster (ASCh Nos 1043 and 1135), which according to Domesday he still held on the day that Edward was alive and dead (DB i, f 135). He is generally described in the Hertfordshire folios as a thegn, and he is named as one of the leading men in that shire in a notification of 1067?[1]. The right of St Peter's to enjoy his gift of Ayot was still being reiterated by the Conqueror in the 1080s.[2]

Notes

1. H W C Davies and R J Whitewell, Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum i (1913), No 16.
2. Ibid, No 235.

41 AEthelmaer

20b	Good Easter.(DU)	4 hides 50 acres	St Martin's London	Thegn
71	Langford[1] (TR)	3½ hides	Ralph Baignard	
71b	Tolleshunt (TR)	3 hides 8 acres	Ralph Baignard	
72	Terling (WT)	2½ hides	Ranulf Peverel	Thegn
72	Hatfield Peverel (WT)	9 hides 82 acres	Ranulf Peverel	)
73b	Hazeleigh (DE)	½ hide 20 acres	Ranulf Peverel	)
73b	Layer Breton ? (WI)[2]	1 hide - 12½ acres	Ranulf Peverel	) Freeman
76b	Thunderley (U)	5 hides	Aubrey de Vere	)
90	East-Thorndon (BA)	1½ hides	William Peverel	)
90	Grays Thurrock (CF)	3 hides 42 acres	William Peverel	

Notes

1. Held with Cola (53).
2. As suggested by Powell, 'Essex Domesday Topography', EAH forthcoming.

As Round (VCH Ex i, 527 fn 2) observed the four estates held in 1086 by Ranulf Peverel are likely to have belonged to the same man - a thegn, with his caput perhaps at Hatfield. Likewise the two holdings of William Peverel in the south of the shire presumably belonged together (f 90 bis), as do Baignard's pair (ff 71, 71b). On geographical grounds the other two would go together, although they may have belonged to different individuals; AEthelmaer was not that rare a name in 1066. (PCPN, pp 184-5). See also the notes in Chapter 3, p 66.

42 Beorhtmaer

26	Fobbing (BA)	5 hides	Eustace of Boulogne	Thegn
27b	Harlow (HA)	½ hide	Eustace of Boulogne	Freeman
31	Laver (O)	40 acres	Eustace of Boulogne	
31	Fyfield (O)	40 acres	Eustace of Boulogne	
63b	Hubbridge Hall (WT)	2½ hides	Robert Gernon	
72	Blunt's Hall (WT)	2½ hides	Ranulf Peverel	
72b	Fairstead (WT)	60 acres	Ranulf Peverel	
74b	Prested (L)	1½ hides	Ranulf Peverel	
97	Great Bromley (TE)	4½ hides	Ralf Pinel	
101b	Hersham (F)	1 hide	Richard son of Count Gilbert	Freeman

Beorhtmaer was a fairly common name in late Anglo-Saxon England (PCPN, pp 194-6), so there are probably several individuals behind these ten Essex references. Although three of the estates held by Eustace in 1086 seem to go together (ff 27b, 31 bis), and presumably belonged to a freeman, the thegn's 5 hides at Fobbing (f 26) probably represents the territory of another Beorhtmaer. The Great Bromley manor (f 97), and Richard's 'invasion' at Hersham (f 101b) probably belonged to different individuals. The four Gernon and Peverel holdings are hard to disentangle. Unless they

belonged to the same man it may be that division on the basis of the 1086 occupants is the safest approach, although if Round's analysis of the successors of the thegn be accepted (VCH Ex i, 302-3), the Pinel manor (f 97) would also belong to him, although some distance from his other holdings. Elsewhere[1] I assumed that all of the Beorhtmaer estates in Essex belonged to the same individual, but that now seems unlikely.

Note

1. 'J H Round and the beginnings of the modern study of Domesday Book', EAH 12 (1980), 20.

43 Beorhtric

101b	Finchingfield (HI)	80 acres	)	
			)	Richard son of Count Gilbert
102	Norton[1] (O)	55 acres	)	(invasion) Freeman

Note

1. As identified by Powell, 'Essex Domesday Topography', EAH forthcoming.

The considerable distance between these two holdings renders it unlikely that they were both held by the same man, their only connection being that they were invaded by Richard.

44 Beorhtsige

48	Foulton (TE)	1 hide - 10 acres	Suen

45 Beorhtwine

30b	Stanford Rivers (O)	20 acres	Eustace of Boulogne

This name was not indexed by Ellis (GIDB), and recorded once in Essex by von Feilitzen, PCPN, p 199.

46 Beorhtwulf

33b Leebury (U) 2½ hides Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

102 Ovington (HI) 30 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert Invasion

Although this was an uncommon name it is likely that these two holdings were held by different individuals. The small holding 'invaded' by Richard was still occupied by Beorhtwulf as his tenant in 1086.

47 Bodda Freeman

26b Shenfield (BA) 2 hides Eustace of Boulogne

48 Bondi

57 Steeple (DE) 3½ hides)
)
57 Woodham Ferrers (CH) 14 hides) Hugh de Ferrers Freeman
)
57 Butsbury (CH) 5½ hides)

59b Ardleigh[1] (TE) 2 hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

83b Ardleigh (TE) 1 hide Roger de Ramis

Note

1. Held with his brother Alric (6) as two manors on the terms that they could not withdraw without the permission of Earl AElfgar (28).

The freeman who preceded Hugh at the three estates described on folio 57 was identified by Round as Bondi the Staller who also held land later occupied by Hugh in other shires (VCH Ex i, 350, 504 fn 2). Von Feilitzen (PCPN, p 206 fn 2) cited three charters of the 1060s which included Bondi in their witness lists, and another confirmation of Whitsun 1068 which he also witnessed, which suggests that he continued in office after the Conquest. Most of his 12 estates in Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire passed to Hugh, in common with the three in Essex.

The two small estates at Ardleigh (ff 59b, 83b) were clearly the property of another man of more humble pretensions.

49 Bosi Freeman

100 Arkesden (U) 2½ hides Geoffrey de Mandeville (invasion)

50 Brorda

67 Frierning (CH) 30 acres Robert Gernon

67 Patching (CH) 2½ hides Robert Gernon

Even though one of these estates paid ten times as much geld as the other, they both doubtless belonged to the same man.

51 Brun

48 Tolleshunt (TR) 1 hide 40 acres Suen

74b Lawling (DE) 2½ hides 35 acres Ranulf Peverel Freeman

These two estates were probably in common ownership. It has not proved possible to associate the Essex Brun with those in Suffolk (ff 337b, 378, 440, 441b).

52 Burgheard Freeman

63b Power's Hall (WT) 4 hides Robert Gernon

Probably his only estate; the housecarl with this name in Buckingham-shire (DB i, ff 143, 146b) was succeeded by Earl Hugh, and his namesake in Suffolk by Hugh de Montfort (f 407).

53 Cola

26b Coggeshall (WT) 3½ hides 33 acres Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

54 Little Totham (TR) 2 hides 32 acres Hugh de Montfort

71 Langford[1] (TR) 3½ hides Ralf Baignard

94 Notley (WT) 5 acres Roger the Marshall Freeman

Note

1. Held with AEthelmaer (41)

Cola was not a common name in Domesday (PCPN, pp 217-8), and although one of these four estates was in joint ownership, and another very tiny, they were close together, and may have all belonged to the same man.

54 Colman

40b Roding Morell (HI) 3 virgates Richard son of Count Gilbert

102 How Hall (HI) 37 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert Freeman

In the first of these entries Colman was described as having been the man of Wihtgar (183), Richard's predecessor, whilst in the second he was said to have been a freeman. It is difficult to identify him with the Colmans in East Anglia, but there seems little doubt that these two holdings belonged to the same man.

55 Colswegan Freeman

40 Boyton Hall (HI) ½ hide 10 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

Like Colman (54), who was also succeeded by Richard, Colswegan may also have been the man of Wihtgar (183).

56 Deorwulf

102 Alphamstone (HI) 4 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert Invasion

Another man commended to Wihtgar (183), whose estate was invaded by Richard. Deorwulf still occupied this minute holding in 1086 as Richard's sub-tenant.

57 Dodding

56b Tiltey (DU) ½ hide Henry de Ferrers

86b Little Easton (DU) 2 hides Walter the Deacon

Doubtless these two manors belonged to the same man even though he was succeeded in them by different Norman tenants-in-chief.

58 Dot

43 Wickford (BA) ½ hide 45 acres Suen

67 Chignall Zoyn (CH) 2 hides Robert Gernon

The distance between these two places, and the fact that Dot's holdings in them were succeeded to by different Normans might suggest that they were held by different individuals. However, the fact that the name was not a very common one would tend to argue against this view (PCPN, p 226).

59 Dufe

36 Great Dunmow (DU) 2 hides William of Warrene Freewoman

102 Toppesfield (HI) 15 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

Dufe was a name for both men and women (PCPN, p 227). Whether these were the estates of one person (a woman) is hard to say, but perhaps on balance they were not, in view of the distance between Dunmow and Toppesfield, and the difference in their size.

60 Eadgifu

Regina

27 Rivenhall (WT) 2½ hides Eustace of Boulogne

54 Wix[1] (TE) 1 hide Hugh de Montfort

87 Wix (TE) 4 hides Walter the Deacon

87 Little Bromley (TE) 2 hides - 20 acres Walter the Deacon

87 Little Chesterford (U) 5 hides Walter the Deacon

Note

1. The queen also had the soke over this holding.

7b Great Sampford (F) 7½ hides King

12b Hallingbury (HA) 30 acres Fief of Bishop of London

12b West Lee (BA) ½ hide St Paul's

27b Purleigh (DE) 1½ hides Eustace of Boulogne

31b Runwell (CH) 4 hides Eustace of Boulogne

35 Willingdale Spain (DU) 1 hide 1½ virgates Alan of Brittany

35 Great Canfield (DU) 1½ hides Alan of Brittany

35 Spain's Hall[1] (HI) 2½ hides Alan of Brittany

35 Steeple Bumpstead[2] (HI) 7½ acres Alan of Brittany

35b Ashdon (F) 30 acres Alan of Brittany

35b Ashdon (F) 5 acres Alan of Brittany

Notes

1. Held by three freemen of Eadgifu
2. Held by a sokeman of Eadgifu

It is not an easy matter to sort out from this list the estates of the Confessor's widow (and Godwine's daughter), of Eadgifu The Fair, or 'of the Swan's Neck' (Harold II's mistress), and those of any other, more humble, Eadgifus. Ellis found the identification of the individuals, let alone their estates, hard enough (GIDB 78 fn 1 & 2).

The Essex estates of Eadgifu Regina (ff 27, 54, 87 ter) presumably belonged to the Confessor's queen who died in 1075. The other two manors (ff 27b, 31b) held in 1086 by Eustace could also have been hers. Round (VCH Ex i, 350) demonstrated that the Eadgifu estates

held in 1086 by Count Alan of Brittany had belonged to Harold's concubine.[1] The estate held later by the King (f 7b) could have belonged to either of them, although Edward's widow is perhaps the more likely. The two small estates held in 1086 by the Bishop of London, and St Paul's (f 12b bis) may have belonged to other Eadgifus, although are here assigned to Harold's Eadgifu.

Note

1. Confirmation is to be found in a Suffolk entry (f 295) where the land of a man commended to Eadgifu the Fair was taken over by Alan.

61 Eadgifu Quedam Femina

36 Upham (BA) 30 acres William of Warrene

This Eadgifu, certainly not one of the queens, seems to have only had this small estate.

62 Eadmaer

27b Dunmow (DU) 2½ hides Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

91 Housham Hall (HA) ½ hide Ralf de Toesni

It seems likely that these two estates belonged to the same (free) man, who is not readily identifiable with the Eadmaers in adjacent shires.

63 Eadnod

29 Belchamp (U) ½ hide 10 acres Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

33 Tendring (TE) 1 hide - 5 acres Eustace of Boulogne

70b Little Oakley (TE) 5½ hides Ralf Baignard

85b Foulton (TE) 2½ hides 20 acres Rober fitz Corbutio Freeman

Eadnod was not a common name in 1066 (PCPN, p 233) and it may well

be that these four estates all belonged to the same (free) man. The division of his three Tendring hundred manors amongst an equal number of Norman tenants-in-chief is to be noted, as is the distant holding in Uttlesford.

64 Eadric

23b	Cricksea (DE)	1 hide	Bishop of Bayeux	Freeman
25	Limpwella (CF)	½ hide	Bishop of Bayeux	Freeman
43	Wheatley (BA)	½ hide	Suen	
51	Lees (CH)	2 hides	Eudo	
52b	Chishall (U)	3½ hides	Roger de Otburville	
83	Rayne (HI)	1 hide	Roger de Ramis	Freeman

The distance between the two freemen's estates held in 1086 by Odo (ff 23b, 25) casts doubt on the likelihood of them having belonged to the same Eadric in 1066. The manors described on ff 51, 52b and 83 could (on geographical grounds) have belonged to the same individual, whilst on similar criteria the Chafford (f 25) and Barstable (f 43) holdings go together, leaving the one at Cricksea (f 23b) as either the sole holding of a freeman, or after all associated with the last two.

65 Eadric of East horp

81b Ardleigh (TE) 2½ hides Ranulf brother of Ilger

As noted by Round (VCH Ex i, 541 fn 4), Eadric of East horp is a unique example of a man named from one of his estates (PCPN, p 234). It is, however, of interest that East horp, where he presumably lived, was in fact his smallest holding as measured by its geld assessment. In addition to East horp itself two other manors nearby can be ascribed to him:

30	East Donyland (L)	1½ hides	)	
			)	
30	Great Birch (L)	3 hides	)	Eustace of Boulogne
			)	
30	East Thorp (L)	1 hide 25 acres	)	

It will be noticed that in these three entries he was simply referred to as Eadric, and that they passed to Eustace, whilst his Ardleigh holding was held in 1086 by Ranulf.

66 Eadsige

35b	Beauchamp Roding[1] (O)	1½ hides	Alan of Brittany
59	Chignall (CH)	15 acres	Geoffrey de Mandeville

Note

1. Held with Leofwine (130)

Eadsige was not a common name in 1066, and these two holdings are just about close enough for them to have belonged to the same man, even if they later passed to different Normans.

67 Eadweald

11	Little Totham (TR)	½ hide	)	
			)	Fief of Bishop of London
11b	Alresford (TE)	2 hides	)	
23	Chadwell (BA)	1½ hides	Bishop of Bayeux	

The Eadweald on f 23 was described as having been 'prepositus regis Eadweald'. Either all three of these estates belonged to the reeve, or he had the Chadwell one, and someone else the other two. On balance the former suggestion seems more likely.

68 Eadweard

24b	Aveley (CF)	1½ hides	Bishop of Bayeux	Freeman
32b	St Osyth (TE)	3 hides 40 acres	Eustace of Boulogne	
32b	Alresford (TE)	2 hides 50 acres	Eustace of Boulogne	

58 Great Waltham (CH) 2½ hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

58b Patching (CH) 2 hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

With such a common name (PCPN, pp 237-8) it seems likely that the estates listed here belonged to three different Eadweards. We know from Domesday that the man succeeded by Geoffrey at Great Waltham was the same Eadweard who held Patching. His estates form a nice pair, as do the couple in Tendring held by Eustace in 1086. That would leave the freeman with only one estate. If this analysis is correct it is to be noted that the freeman had less land than his namesakes of unspecified status.

69 Eadweard son of Suan

98b ? (CF) ½ hide Eadgifu wife of Eadweard

'Eadweard son of Suan, the man of King Edward' also occurs in the Middlesex folios of Domesday Book (DB i, f 130b). Where his holding in 1086 was listed under the heading 'Terra in Elemosina Data', and then 'Edeva tenet de rege'. Both the Eadgifus and the Eadweards must be the same individuals, but whether the former was Suen's daughter-in-law or the Confessor's widow is unclear.

70 Eadwig Freeman

103 Bumpstead (F/H) 10 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert (invasion)

71 Eadwine

58b Mashbury (CH) 45 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

64b East Ham (BE) ¾ hide Robert Gernon Free priest

Robert's predecessor was described as a 'free priest', and the difference in the size of these holdings, their distance apart, and the fact that they passed to different Normans suggests that they belonged to different men. Support for this view is provided by the fact that at Mashbury Eadwine continued as Geoffrey's tenant.

72 Eadwine Grut

67 Frierning (CH) 1 hide 33 acres Robert Gernon

95 Wickford (BA) ½ hide Moduin Freely

Since these are the only references in Domesday to the name Eadwine Grut (PCPN, p 239) it seems likely that both Frierning and Wickford belonged to the same man, even though in 1086 they were held by different Norman tenants-in-chief.

73 Ealraed

51 Quendon (U) 2 hides Eudo

74 Earnwulf Freeman

27 Latton (HA) 1½ hides Eustace of Boulogne

75 Engelric

26b Gravesend[1](BA) 1 hide Eustace of Boulogne

27b Langenhoe (WN) 7 hides Eustace of Boulogne

32b Bircho (L) 3 hides Eustace of Boulogne

Note

1. Held of Harold (107)

Engelric was described by Douglas[1] as a 'most obscure personage', and the reference to his activities cited by von Feilitzen

(PCPN, p 247 fn 5) bear this judgement out. Most of the previous discussion about Engelric has concentrated on his career between the Conquest and 1086, but it is clear that under the Confessor he had begun to accumulate land in England, to which he had apparently come from the Continent, perhaps Germany. The Bircho manor he probably leased from the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's. Whatever may have been his position after 1066 he was not a major landholder in Essex before the death of Edward the Confessor.

Note

1. D C Douglas, Feudal documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds (1932), p xcix.

76 Erlingr

59 Danbury (CH) 2½ hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

77 Felagi

95 Ashwell Hall (HI) ½ hide Walter the Cook

102b Great Bardfield (F) 1½ hides)
) Richard son of Count Gilbert
102b Hoosnega (?) ½ hide) - invasions

These are the only Domesday entries that mention Felagi (PCPN, pp 250-1), and Round (VCH Ex i, 527 fn 8) identified the Ashwell Hall and Bardfield entries as having been in common ownership. To them may now be added the lost Hoosnega. It is to be noted that Felagi held the Great Bardfield holding of Earl AElfgar (28).

78 Finnr the Dane

41 Langham (L) 2½ hides Richard son of Count Gilbert

41b Barrowhall (R) 1½ hides Richard son of Count Gilbert

98b Latchingdon (DE) 5 hides 15acres Ulveva widow of Finnr Freeman

Although not particularly close together these three estates clearly belonged to the same person. He also held a manor in Suffolk (f 395b) claimed by Richard as part of Finnr's land, to which he was the successor. Finnr's largest Essex manor was held in 1086 by his widow - perhaps it had been her morning gift. See also PCPN, p 251 fn 2.

79 Freowine

32b Tendring (TE) ½ hide Eustace of Boulogne

80 Fridelbern Freeman

62 Stow Maries (DE) 4 hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

This (his only Essex estate) was also entered on folio 63 where its 1086 owner was not described as a freeman. There were also three Suffolk manors held by Fridelbern (there styled as a thegn), two of which later passed to Geoffrey (ff 411b bis; 396). Presumably all four belonged to the same man.

81 Frithelbert

5 Margaretting (CH) 3½ hides King

25 South Hanningfield (CH) 9 hides Bishop of Bayeaux

57b South Ockendon (CF) 10½ hides 20 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

"Free Thegn"

Although divided between three Normans these estates all presumably belonged to the same man.

82 Gautarr

64b Layer? (WN) 4½ hides Robert Gernon Freeman

68b Tolleshunt D'Arcy (TR) 5½ hides Robert Gernon

These are the only Domesday references to Gautarr (PCPN, p 258) and the proximity of these two estates leaves little room for doubt that they belonged to the same freeman.

83 Godgifu Freewoman

102 Borley (HI) ½ hide 23 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

Godgfiu (described in Domesday as a freeman) held this small estate with Grimr (101) until its 'invasion' by Richard.

84 Godgyd Freewoman

13 Norton Mandeville (O) ½ hide St Paul's.

42b Basildon (BA) 3 hides Suen

60 Hallingbury (HA) ½ hide-8 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

The Domesday scribes described this woman as

Quedem femina (13)

Quedem liber homo (42b), and

Liba' femina (60)

Round in VCH Ex i, 483, fn 4 came to the conclusion that the 42b entry referred to a woman, but it seems likely that the same person held all three estates even though they are not particularly close together. According to Domesday she gave the Norton holding to St Paul's after the Conquest.

85 Godhere Freeman

12b Uleham (DE) 2 hides 20 acres Fief of the Bishop of London

94b Shalford (HI) ½ hide William the Deacon

The only other Domesday reference to Godhere occurs in Suffolk (f346; PCPN, p264), and it is possible that all 3 holdings belonged to the same man.

86 Goding

55 Rayne (WT) ½ hide Hamo

102b West Bergholt (L) 6 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

The 6 geld acres at Bergholt were 'invaded' by Richard, and presumably belonged to a different Goding than the one who held the larger estate at not-too-distant Rayne.

87 Godmann

47 Berden (CL) 2 hides Suen Sokeman of Robert

97 Aveley (CE) 50 acres Ansgar the Cook

98 Chadwell (BA) 20 acres Grim the Reeve Freeman

The sokeman of Suen's father at Berden was probably not the holder of the other 2 estates, which were probably held by the same man. He had forfeited the Chadwell holding for not paying a fine.

88 Godric

12 Ramsden Belhus (BA) 1 hide 10 acres Fief of the Bishop of London

20b Matching (HA) 40 acres St Walery Freeman

23 Wickford (R) 1 hide Bishop of Bayeux Freeman

25b Great Moulsham (CH) 2¾ hides Bishop of Bayeux

33b Little Chishall (U) 2½ hides Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

43 Thundersley (BA) 5 hides 15 acres Suen Thegn

43 Wickford (BA) 30 acres Suen

44b Northrop (R) 1¼ hides Suen Thegn

46 Ashedlham (R) ½ hide 37 acres Suen Freely

46 Little Hallingbury (HA) 2½ hide Suen Freeman

47b Stapleford Tawney (O) 5 hides Suen

47b Theydon Mount (O) 3 hides 80 acres Suen

47b Warley Franks (CF) 2 hides Suen Freely

67 Springfield (CH) 2 hides 40 acres Robert Gernon

94 Stebbing (HI) 15 acres Adam fitz Durand Freeman

96 North Fambridge (DE) 8 hides Thierri Pointel Freeman

Since Godric was a very common name in late Anglo-Saxon England (PCPN, pp 266-269) there are probably a number of individuals who held there 16 estates. The 8 manors held in 1086 by Suen could have all belonged to the same man, who was apparently a thegn (ff 43, 44b). The two estates held by Odo (ff 23, 25b) may have belonged to the same man, but the other six holdings were probably the only property of the Godrics who held them.

89 Godric de Colchester

30 East Donyland (L) 25 acres Eustace of Boulogne

Round (VCH Ex i, 574 fn6) had little hesitation in identifying the Godric at East Donyland with the freeman of that name who held a four hide manor at Greensted, and five hides at Lexden (f104- not included here since they were within the burh of Colchester). This holding was much smaller than his other estates in Colchester.

90 Godric Poincus

37b Belstead Hall (CH) 1 hide- 10 acres William of Warrene

91 Godric Scipri

37b West Hanningfield (CH) 1¾ hides William of Warrene

Like Godric Poincus (90) the only Domesday reference to Godric Scipri appears inthe Essex text (PCPN, p268), Their 'surnames' were presumably used to distinguish them from each other, since their

estates were close together.

92 Godwine

11b Little Burstead (BA) 3 hides Fief of Bishop of London

12 Horndon-on-the-Hill (BA) 1½ hides Fief of Bishop of London

28 Ridgewell (HI) 2¾ hides Eustace of Boulogne Freeman

42b Wickford (BA) 10 hides Suen Thegn

49 Mundon (DE) 10 hides Eudo Thegn

49 Harlow (HA) 1¾ hides Eudo Freeman

51 Weeley (TE) 3 hides 38 acres Eudo

66 Wormingford (L) 1½ hides 10 acres Robert Gernon

67 Culverts (CH) 1½ hides Robert Gernon

80 Walden (U) ½ hide 15 acres Ranulf brother of Ilger Freeman

83 Sible Hedingham (HI) ½ hide Roger de Ramis Freeman

88 Stansted Hall (HI) 1 hide Roger Malet Freeman

88 Goldingham (HI) 2 hides Roger Malet Freeman

88b Colne Engaine (L) 1¼ hides Roger Malet

101 Bollington (CL) 1¼ hides Suen Freeman

102 Yeldham (HI) 40 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert Freeman

Note

1. Held "sub Harold" (107)

Godwine was a common name in late Anglo-Saxon England, and the apportionment of these estates among individuals is not easy. It is probably best to approach the problem through their Norman successors. The two estates held in 1086 by the Bishop of London could have belonged to the same man (ff 11b, 12). The freeman (f28), and thegn (f42b) would have held single estates, but the thegn succeeded by Eudo would have had three estates. He may be the thegn Godwine that he also succeeded in Suffolk (f402b). The two estates held in 1086 by Robert Gernon (ff66, 67) seem a little far apart to have belonged to the same man, but the three of

Robert Malet's that can be linked with more confidence are not very close together either. The other 4 holdings (ff 80, 83, 101, 102) are presumed to have been the only land of their holders. The estate at Bollington was held "sub Harold", and invaded by Suen (101), while Richard also invaded the 40 acres at Yeldham (102).

Suggested division of estates between individuals;

A	11b, 12	F	80
B	28	G	83
C	42b	H	88 bis, 89b
D	49 bis, 51	I	101
E	66, 67	J	102

93 Godwine 'A Certain Englishman'

97 Heydon (U) 12 acres Robert son of Roscelin

He was still holding this in 1086 as Robert's tenant, which suggests that it was his only estate.

94 Godwine the Deacon

58b Chignall (CH) 1½ hides-5 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

98b No location stated 9 acres Godwine the Deacon. The only deacon named Godwine in Domesday (PCPN, p271), and presumably not the priest of the same name (see next entry). He somehow managed to retain his smaller holding after the Conquest, even though the larger one passed to Geoffrey.

95 Godwine The Priest

96b Ardleigh (TE) 1 hide 5 acres Moduin

96 Godwine Sech

100b Arkesden (U) 1 hide-8 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

This estate was 'invaded' by Geoffrey, and its hard to associate Godwine Sech with any of the other Essex Godwines.

97 Goldstan

101b No location stated ½ hide 6 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

Goldstan held this with Almaer (4), AElfric (34), and Wulfric (191), but was still tilling the land in 1086 as Richard's tenant. He may be the same Goldstan who had a house and 5 acres in Colchester (f104b).

98 Gothild

56	Greensted	(0) 2 hides	)	
56	Navestock	(0) 80 acres	)	Hamo
56	Norton Mandeville	(0) 1½ hides 15 acres	)	

A compact group of estates, which all passed to Hamo.

99 Goti

20b	Hutton	(BA) 3 hides -20 acres	St Martin's Battle	Freeman
54b	Ramsden Crays ?[1]	(BA) 1 hide	)	
55b	Little Wigborough	(WN) 7 hides	)	Freeman
55b	Stambourne & Topsfield	(HI)	)	Hamo
	1 hide		)	

Note

1. Held of Harold (107) by Goti

This is a difficult group of estates to analyse, since although 2 of them (ff20b, 54b) were close together, the other two were at opposite ends of the shire. However, the name is not found elsewhere in Domesday (PCPN, p274), and it seems likely that all four estates belonged to the same (free)man.

100 Grimkell

68 Shortgrove (U) 2 hides Robert Gernon

68 Arkesden (U) 1 hide-8 acres Robert Gernon

Grimkell held Shortgrove with Wulfwine (199), but in view of the

proximity of these holdings, and their common descent to Robert it seems likely that they both belonged to the same man.

101 Grimr

4b Somewhere in Rochford Hundred 10 acres Grim the Reeve

50b Boxted (L) 1 hide Eudo

9 Purleigh (DE) 1 hide Ralf Baignard

84 Little Maplestead (HI) ½ hide John fitz Waleram Freeman

101b Lacheley (DU) ½ hide) Invaded by Richard Freeman

102 Borley[1] (HI) ½ hide 23 acres) son of Count Gilbert Freeman

Note

1. Held with Godgifu (83)

It is difficult to gauge how many individuals held these estates in 1066. Grimr the Reeve still had his 10 acres in Rochford in 1086, but if the other five estates had been his before the Conquest he had lost them by 1086. Since Grimr is not an uncommon name (PCPN, p276) it may be that each of these holdings belonged to a different person.

102 Gunnarr

48b Little Totham (TR) 30 acres Suen

He continued to hold this land in 1086 as Suen's tenant, which suggests that it was his only holding.

103 Gudmund Thegn

32	Tollesbury (TR)	3 hides	Eustace of Boulogne	Freeman
52b	Kelvedon (WT)	3½ hides	)	Thegn
53	Purleigh (DE)	4 hides	)	Freeman
53	Latchingdon (DE)	3½ hides 20 acres	)	
53b	Rayne Hall (HI)	2 hides- 20 acres	) Hugh De Montfort	
53b	Marks Hall (L)	½ hide 13 acres	)	
54	Sandon (CH)	4 hides	)	

All of these estates belonged in 1066 to Gudmund, the brother of Wulfric, Abbot of Ely (PCPN, p279 fn 1). In Suffolk, where he had interests in 19 holdings he was described as the 'predecessor' of Hugh. At the end of the description of his manor at Sandon (f54) it was stated that the monks of Ely claimed that it was in the Abbey's demesne in King Edward's time. Notwithstanding the fact that the Chelmsford hundred jurors supported this claim Hugh was still occupying Sandon in 1086. In Suffolk Hugh held two estates (Nacton, f406b, and Livermore, f408), that Gudmund had leased from the Abbey.

104 Gyrdr

10b Little Warley (CF) 4 hides-15 acres Bishop of London Domesday states that this manor was an ancient property of St Paul's although how Gyrdr came to possess it, and whether Harold's brother is being referred to, are both unknown.

105 Hakun

68b	Ulting (WT)	1 hide 40 acres	Ralf Baignard	
79	Theydon Bois (O)	3½ hides	80 acres	Peter de Valognes

There are only about a dozen references to this name in Domesday (PCPN, p283), so it may well be that both of these holdings, although not very close together, belonged to the same man.

106 Halfdan Freeman

78b Higham (BE) 5 hides Peter de Valognes

Although a fairly common name in pre -Conquest Suffolk, where Geoffrey de Mandeville succeeded to the estates of a Halfdan (ff 411b,412 ter, 412b, 413 bis) it seems likely that this particular man had only this one estate, and is not to be identified with his namesakes north of the Stour.

107 Harold

1b Benfleet (BA) 8 hides King

1b Witham (WT) 5 hides King

2 Hatfield Broad Oak (HA) 20 hides King

2b Havering (BE) 10 hides King

4b Stanway (L) 5½ hides King

5 Wolverston (O) 3 hides 40 acres King

5 Fingrith (CH) Not stated King

5 Childerditch (CF) 1½ hides King

5 Writtle (CH) 16 hides King

6 Brightlingsea (TE) 10 hides King

6 Lawford (TE) 10 hides King

7 Newport (U) 8½ hides King

7 Rickling (U) 8 hides King

14b Feering (L) 4¾ hides St Peter Westminster

15 North Ockendon (CF) 1 2/3 hides St Peter Westminster

15b Waltham (WA) 40 hides Bishop of Durham

26 Writtle (CH) 1 hide 20 acres Bishop of Hereford

26b Gravesend[1] (BA) 1 hide)

26b White Notley (WT) Not stated) Eustace of

27 Rivenhall (WT) 1 hide 15 acres) Boulogne

27 Witham (WT) 51 acres)

31 Newland Hall (CH) 3 hides) Eustace

32b Frinton (TE) 3 hides) of Boulogne

54b Ramsden Crays[2] (BA) 1 hide)

55 Hatfield Broad Oak (HA) ½ hide) Haimo

55 Roding Marci[3] (DU) 1½ hides)

61 Shellow Bowells[4] (DU) 2 hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

63 West Thurrock (CF) 13 hides Count of Eu

75 Doddinghurst ?[5] (O) 14 acres Ranulf Peverel

84 Black Notley (WT) 4¼ hides John fitz Waleram

85 Leyton (BE) 4½ hides Richard fitz Corbutio

90b Chigwell (O) 7 hides Ralf de Limesi

95 Witham (WT) 1 hide Moduin

101 Bollington[6] (CL) 4½ hides Suen (Invasion)

Notes

1. Held by Engelric (75) of Harold

2. Held by Goti (99) of Harold

3. Held by Vidi (182) of Harold

4. Held by Uluric a freeman (190) of Harold

5. Held freely of Harold by Uluric the Priest (194)

6. Held by Godwin a freeman (92) of Harold

Von Feilitzen PCPN, p284 fn 1) held that 'the vast majority of entries (in DB generally) relate to King (Commes) Harold', to whom these estates are all assigned, although it may be that a few of them belonged to other Harold's of lower standing. For a full discussion of Harold II's estates see Chapter 3, above. Note that the six estates held of Harold are not included in the total of his lands, but are counted as the property of those who held them.

108 Heoruwulf

3b Birchanger (U) 1 hide King

20b Lindsell (HA) 1 hide St Walery Freeman

Although they devolved to different Normans it seems likely that these two nearby estates could have belonged to the same (free)man.

109 Hold Freeman

102 Alphamstone (HI) 1 acre Richard son of Count Gilbert

Hold's minute estate has been invaded by Richard, perhaps because he had been commended to Wihtgar (183), Richard's predecessor.

110 Howard

13 Navestock (O) 5 hides-20 acres St Paul's

Howard held this manor with Wulfsige (195), and as this is the only mention of the name in Domesday (PCPN, p 292), it was presumably his only land.

110A Hrafngar

23b Beckney (R) ½ hide Bishop of Bayeaux

This name is rendered as Ravengari' in Domesday and is presumed to be Hrafngar, although this Essex reference is not listed under that name by Von Feilitzen (PCPN, p292-3). In any event, this seems to have been his only holding.

111 Ingolfr

53b Bradwell (DE) 1½ hides Hugh de Montfort Freeman

68 Widington (U) 3¾ hides Robert Gernon

There are only four other Ingolfrs mentioned in Domesday, (PCPN, p298), in Somerset (DB i,f99), Lincolnshire (ibid, f 370), Nottinghamshire ibid, f 290b), and Suffolk (DB ii f

442). It seems likely that these two Essex estates belonged to the same man, even though they were some distance apart. He is presumably to be identified with the Ingolfr mentioned in a charter supposed to date from 1066, but composed in the twelfth century, which confirmed his gift of Paglesham to Westminster Abbey, ASCh No 1043). If he was the donor of that estate, then he must also have been the unnamed thegn who went to a battle at York with Harold, mentioned in the Domesday description of the Westminster Paglesham manor (f15). In that case, Ingolfr was a thegn, and not a freeman, as stated on folio 53b.

112 Ingvar Thegn

22b	Great Burstead (BA)	10 hides	Bishop of Bayeux Thegn
33	Chreshall (U)	6 hides	Eustace of Boulogne
80	Roydon (HA)	6 hides	) Freeman
80b	Thorp (R)	2½ hides	)
81	Bapthorne (HI)	2 hides	) Ranulf brother of Ilger
81	Newland (DE)	1½ hides 35 acres	)
81	Mountnessing? (CH)	9 hides	)

Round (VCH Ex i,352) cited Ingvar as an example of a man who was described in Essex (f80) as a freeman, but who elsewhere in Domesday was called a thegn. This overlooked f22b. He seems to have been the same man that Ranulf succeeded in Cambridgeshire (DB i,f201b), and Huntingdonshire (ibid, f207), who the Bishop of Thetford followed in Suffolk (DB ii,f380b) and Eustace in Cambridgeshire (DB i,f196. It is of interest that Odo acquired Ingvar's largest Essex holding, and that his estates were not very close together, both within, and without Essex.

113 Ketill

75b Frating (TE) 2 hides Ranulf Peverel

Ketill and his lands are considered in detail in Chapter 3,pp 75-79.

114 Lag(h)man

95b East Donyland (L) 1 virgate (30 acres) Moduin

115 Lemar

102 Bumpstead (FR/HI) 5 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

Lemar held this land with Leofwine (130), and was commended to Wihtgar (183). It was 'invaded' by Richard and they still occupied it as his tenants in 1086.

116 Leodmaer Freeman Priest

28b Ashen (HI) 1½ hides 35 acres) Eustace Freeman

28b Belchamp Otten (HI) 1 hide 40 acres) of Freeman

34 Bendish Hall (F) 4 hides) Boulogne Priest

39 Gestingthorpe (HI) ½ hide Richard son of Count Gilbert Priest

Not withstanding the fact that one of these estates passed to Richard, and the Domesday scribes gave him two different ranks in society, there seems little doubt from their proximity to each other than these manors all belonged to the same individual.

117 Leofcild

41 West Bergholt (L) 3½ hides Richard son of Count Gilbert

43 Wheatley (BA) 5 hides Suen Thegn

79 Loughton (O) 1 hide Peter de Valognes

92b Notley (WT) ½ hide 22 acres Sasselinue

102 Pebmarsh (HI) 3 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert-Freeman

The only other Domesday references to Leofcild occur in the Suffolk folios - 337b, 337, and 404. Von Feilitzen (PCPN, p311 fn 1) believed that all these entries probably refer to a 'Leofcild minister who was also sheriff of Essex'. He cited seven writs, wills, and charters which mentioned a Leofcild - a minister who witnessed a charter of doubtful authenticity of 1042 x 1044 (ASCh No 1044); a Leofcild is mentioned in wills of 1035 x 1044 (ibid, No 1521), and 1043 x 1045 (ibid, No 1531); is stated in a writ of 1052 x 1053 to have bequeathed land at Moulsham to Westminster (ibid No 1128); is mentioned in a forged charter of Edward to the Abbey (ibid No 1043). Leofcild sheriff of Essex is addressed in writs of 'doubtful authenticity' of 1042 x 1044 (ASCh No'117), and no date (ibid, No 1118). This documentation suggests that there was a Leofcild who was perhaps a minister, and sheriff of Essex, and certainly a patron of Westminster Abbey, who must have been dead by 1052 x 1053 when Edward the Confessor confirmed his bequest of land to the church (ASCh No 1128), and so can hardly have been holding land in either 1066 or 1086 (f 102). See further above, Chapter 1.

It seems likely that these five holdings were all held by the same man, who was probably a thegn. The geographical scattering, and various sizes of his estates, are to be noted, as is the fact that he remained as Richard's subtenant on the smallest of them.

118 Leofdaeg

57b Shelley (O) 80 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

119 Leofgifu

24 Aldham (L) 1 hide-5 acres Bishop of Bayeux

40b Bures (HI) 40 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert Freewoman

56 Kelvedon Hatch (O) 1 hide 45 acres Hamo

69 Woodham Walter (DE) 7 hides Ralf Baignard

Although these four holdings all descended to different Normans, vary somewhat in size, and are not particularly close together, it seems likely that in view of the scarcity of this name in Domesday PCPN, p312) that they all belonged to the same (free) woman.

120 Leofgyð

62 White Roding (DU) ½ hide Geoffrey de Mandeville Leofgyð held this estate of Asgeirr (20), and since her name only occurs on this one occasion in Domesday (PCPN, p312) it is likely to have been her only holding.

121 Leofhild

57b Abbess Roding (O) ¾ hide Geoffrey de Mandeville

This estate belonged to Barking Abbey, and according to Round VCH Ex 1, 505 fn 2), had been held by a woman. There are no other references to the name in Domesday(PCPN, p312).

122 Leofing Freeman

85 Lawling (DE) 4½ hides Richard fitz Corbutio

123 Leofraed Freeman

64 East Ham (BE) 7 hides Robert Gernon

124 Leofric

23b Cricksea (DE) 1 hide Bishop of Bayeux

58b Chignall (CH) 30 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

84b Fyfield (O) 1¾ hides) John son of

84b High Ongar (O) ¾ hide) Waleram

Although a common name in England generally, Leofrics did not occur frequently in 1066 Essex (PCPN, pp313-315), and there can be little doubt that the two estates succeeded to by John belonged to the same man. The occupant of the small holding at Chignall was still there in 1086 as Geoffrey's sub-tenant, so that was probably his only land; the same being true of the Leofric at Cricksea.

125 Leofric A Sokeman of Wihtgar

41 Colne (L) 30 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert Leofric, like others in the same vill, was unable to withdraw from the soke of Wihtgar (183).

126 Leofsige

31 Lambourne (O) 2 hides 80 acres) Eustace of

34 Crawleybury (U) 30 acres) Boulogne Freeman

82 Radwinter (F) ½ hide 15 acres Tihel the Breton

If these three manors were held by the same man, which seems likely in view of the infrequent occurrence of the name Leofsige in Domesday (PCPN,p315), the estate at Lambourne was rather divorced from his others.

127 Leofstan

31b	Runwell (CH) 1 hide	)	Eustace of	
31b	Little Waltham (CH) 2¼ hides	)	Boulogne	
33	Little Holland (TE) 4 hides	)		
	- - - - -			
42b	Hasingbroke (BA) 1¼ hides	)		Freeman
42b	Basildon (BA) 1 hide 15 acres	)		Freeman
42b	Wickford (BA) ½ hide 35 acres	)		Freely
45b	Ilfney (DE) ½ hide 40 acres	)	Suen	Freely
46	Rivenhall (WT) ¼ hide	)		Freeman
46	Little Hallingbury (HA) 2½ hides	)		Freeman
	- - - - -			
64b	East Whettenham (DE) 1½ hides	)		Freeman
68	Elsenham (U) 1 hide	)	Robert Gernon	
91	Rainham (CF) 8 hides	)	Walter of Doai	Reeve
91	Holland (TE) 6½ hides	)		

The Leofstans of Domesday Book were all confined to the Eastern Counties, and were not very numerous (PCPN,p316). There are problems in attempting to apportion these 13 estates among hypothetical individuals in view of the ir odd distribution among Norman tenants in chief. It is not easy to believe that two different Leofstans held adjacent manors in Holland (ff33,91); while the distance between the pairs of manors held by Robert, and Walter, cast some doubt upon the probability of them both having belonged to

the same individuals. Although a little scattered Suen's Leofstan estates had all either been held by a freeman, or freely, and would go together as a group. Perhaps the best, albeit tentative, solution is to suggest that the estates held later by Suen were the lands of one Leofstan, and that the reeve at Rainham (f 91) had only that estate and lump the others together as the holdings of a third Leofstan. Equally likely is the possibility that all 13 holdings belonged to the same man.

128 Leofsunu

51 Rettendon[1] (CH) 2¼ hides Eudo

58b Chignall (CH) 30 acres)

59 Moze (TE) 4 hides) Geoffrey de Mandeville

59b Frinton (TE) 3½ hides)

Note

1. Entry repeated on f19.

Von Feilitzen (PCPN,p316) listed only five other Leofsunus in Domesday, all of whom were in Suffolk. It seems likely that all nine holdings could have belonged to the same man, who on the Suffolk evidence was a freeman (f403, 404). He continued as Geoffrey's sub-tenant at Chignall (f 58b), farming his smallest holding. It may be noted that the total assessment of his Essex land was exactly 10 hides.

129 Leofweard Freeman

4 Benfleet (BA) 1 hide King

130 Leofwine

3 Latchingdon (DE) ¼ hide King Freeman

30b Stanford Rivers (O) 9 hides)

30b Laver (O) 1 hide 40 acres) Eustace of Boulogne

31 Little Baddow (CH) 5 hides)

35b Beauchamp Roding[1] (O) 1½ hides Alan of Britanny

52 Arkesden (U) 1 hide Roger de Otburvilla Freely

53b Layer (WN) 1½ hides 18 acres) Hugh de Freeman

54 Goldhanger (TR) 1 hide 15 acres) Montfort

58b Chignall (CH) 15 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

70 Little Baddow (CH) 4 hides Ralf Baignard

76 Goldhanger[2] (TR) 2½ hides 25 acres Ranulf Peverel

91b Borley (HI) 2¼ hides Countess of Aumale Freeman

102 Bumpstead[3] (FR/HI) 5 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert)
'Invasions'
103b Great Chishall (U) 5 acres Roger de Otburvilla)

Notes

1. Held with Eadsige (66)

2. Held with Wulfweard (197)

3. Held with Lemar (115)

Leofwine was a commonname in late Anglo-Saxon England, and there are doubtless several individuals represented here. The three (ff35b, 76, 102) Leofwines who held land with others probably did not have any other estates. The Leofwine succeeded at Chignall by Geoffrey was still there as a sub-tenant in 1086, so that was probably his only estate. Of the remainder, assuming that one Norman succeeded to the land of only one Leofwine, the three estates held by Eustace go together, as do Hugh's pair. It may be that Ralf's Baddow holding had belonged to the man succeeded in the same parish by Eustace, but the remainder are clearly singletons.

131 Leofwine a certain Englishman

97 Heydon (U) 7 acres Robert son of Roscelin

This Leofwine was Robert's tenant in 1086, and this was presumably his only land.

132 Leofwine Cilt

82 Helion's Bumpstead (F) 4 hides Tihel the Beton

96b Purleigh (DE) 5 hides Walter the Deacon

Round (VCH Ex i,541 fn 12) was hesitant in assigning these two estatesto the same man, although he did (351) suggest that the Leofwine succeeded by Walter at Purleigh and Colne Engaine was probably the same man he followed at the other Purleigh holding.

86b Purleigh (DE) 3½ hides) Walter

86b Colne Engaine (L) ½ hide 13 acres) the Deacon

Although the Bumpstead estate is remote from the other three, and passed to a different Norman, it is likely that all four holdings belonged to the same man, who also held land in Bedfordshire, Derbyshire, Hertfordshire, and Suffolk, to which he was succeeded by a variety of Norman tenants in chief PCPN, p317 fn4). He seems to have been a thegn (Beds, DB i, ff215,216b), and identifiable with Leofwine de Cadendune (Caddington, Herts) of a charter of c 1053 (ASCh No 1235).

133 Leofwine Croc

89 West Bergholt (L) 1 hide 25 acres) Roger of

89 Bradfield (TE) ½ hide 15 acres) Poitou

The only other reference to Leofwine Croc in Domesday is in the Suffolk text (f350), where he is said to have preceded Roger as the holder of an estate at Boxhall. Unlike Leofwine Cilt his land all passed to one Norman (cf Round, VCH Ex i 551 fn 12

134 Lutting

102b Colne (L) 40 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert 'Invasion'

135 Manning Freeman

24b Thurrock (CF) 2½ hides 40 acres Bishop of Bayeux

136 Malwynn Freewoman

94b Elsenham (U) 4 hides John Fitz Waleram

137 Moding

49b Down Hall (DE) 2 hides 20 acres)
49b Axfleet Marsh (DE) 1½ hides 10 acres) Suen

The only other Moding mentioned in Domesday (PCPN, p328) preceded Hugh de Belchamp in a Bedfordshire estate, and is unlikely to have been Suen's predecessor in Dengie.

138 Modwin

96 East Donyland (L) ½ hide 12 acres Haghebern Round (VCH Ex i,560 fn 10) noted that whereas on folio 96 it stated that Modwin held land in East Donyland in 1066, on f95b it is recorded that it previously belonged to Haghebern, and that he was the tenant in 1086. Although he held 8 Essex manors in 1086 Modwin does not seem to have had more than this one at the time of the Conquest (PCPN, p328).

139 Nordmann

29 Finchingfield (HI) ½ hide 10 acres) Eustace of Boulogne
34 Little Bardfield (F) 2¼ hides)

49b Steeple (DE) 3 hides 35 acres Eudo

70b Hanningfield (CH) 3 hides Ralf Baignard

As Nordmann was a fairly common name in late Anglo-Saxon England (PCPN, pp321-2) it seems likely that there are three different men represented here, each of whose land passed to different Normans. The geographical distribution of their holdings supports this view.

140 Ordgar

20b Hersham Hall (HI) 1 hide St Martin's Battle Freeman

92 Radwinter (F) 1¼ hides Frodo, brother of the abbot

92b Childerditch (CF) 1¾ hides Sasselinus Freeman

Ordgar was not a very common name in 1066 (PCPN, p336), and it may be that these three estates all belonged to the same man. There was a sheriff of Cambridgeshire named Ordgar (DB i, f197), and it could have been him that seized two freeman at Stevington End (DB ii, f103b). In 1036 they were held by Frodo who is stated to have been Ordgar's successor (Round, VCH Ex i, 574, fn 12). This must have been only in Essex, as he was not succeeded by him in any other shire. If these Essex holdings were those of a thegn, and a sheriff, they did not constitute a very impressive collection.

141 Ordmaer Freeman

83 Messing (L) ½ hide Roger de Ramis

142 Ordric

78 Stevington End (F) 15 acres Aubrey de Vere

Ordic held 15 acres in Stevington End, and Alwine (14) had 30 acres there. Although they were both in the King's soke, their holdings seem to have been distinct.

143 Osbeorht

89b Ardleigh (TE) 2½ hides Hugh de Gurnai

144 Oslac

25b Tolleshunt (TR) 1 hide Bishop of Bayeux Freeman

79b Inga (BA) 2 hides Ranulf brother of Ilger

82 Stevington End (F) 42½ acres Tihel the Breton Freeman

Oslac was not a very common name in late Anglo-Saxon England (PCPN, p340), and it may be that all three of these holdings belonged the same freeman, even if they were not very close together and were all held in 1086 by different Normans.

145 Osweard

23b Great Stambridge (R) 3¾ hides Suen

146 Pater Alurici

30b Stamford Rivers (O) 1 hide 80 acres Eustace of Boulogne

It is not obvious who the Aelfric was whose father held this land, but he does not seem to have had any other in Essex.

147 Robert fitz Wimarc

Succeeded by Suen at:-

43b Eastwood (R) 3½ hides

45 Plumberrow (R) 1 hide

45b Putsey[1] (R) ½ hide 15 acres

45b Putsey[2] (R) 38 acres

45b Sutton (R) ½ hide

46b East Mersea (WN) 6 hides

46b Clavering (CL) 15 hides

47 Horkesley (L) 5½ hides

47b Horkesley[3] (L) 7½ acres

48 Maldon (M) ½ hide

48 Elmstead (TE) 8 hides

Notes

1. Held by a sokeman of his

2. Held by a freeman whose soke Robert had

3. Held by a freeman commended to Robert

Robert's estates, both in Essex and elsewhere, are fully considered in Chapter 3, pp. 79-83.

147A Saxi

88b Morton (DE) 1 hide 20 acres William de Scolines

91 Layer (O) 1 hide Ralf de Toesni

93 Wicken Bonhunt (U) 3 hides 12 acres Gilbert fitz Turold Freeman

Round noted (VCH Ex i, 554 fn 7) with reference to the Laver estate that "this was probably Sexi, 'housecarl of King Edward' who had preceded Ralf at West Mill Herts". This seems likely, and it may be that all three of these Essex estates belonged to the same man. Gilbert followed Saxi at an estate in Cambridgeshire (DB i,f197b), while Odo held in 1086 a number of Suffolk estates that had belonged to a thegn named Saxi (DB ii,ff374b-377 passim). The large number of references to the name in Domesday, and the division of their land between so many Normans, makes the identification of individuals difficult.

148 Saegar

25b Patching Hall (CH) 2 hides 30 acres Bishop of Bayeux

149 Saemaer Freeman

49 Roding (DU) 1½ hides 45 acres Eudo

Saemaer's estate was claimed at the Domesday Inquest by the Abbey of Ely.

150 Seawine the Priest

59 Chignall (CH) 15 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

151 Saewulf

58 Broomfield (CH) 4½ hides Geofrey de Mandeville

152 Sercar

86 Tolleshunt Major (TR) 1 hide Robert fitz Corbutio

153 Serlo

73 Hazeleigh (DE) 4½ hides Ranulf Peverel

Serlo continued to hold this manor as Ranulf's sub-tenant in 1086, so it was presumably his only land.

154 Sigar Freeman

11b Corringham (BA) 4 hides 10 acres Fief of the Bishop of London

155 Sigeraed Freeman

33b Little Chishall (U) 6 hides 30 acres Eustace of Boulogne

156 Sigric

24 Dengie (DE) 2½ hides Bishop of Bayevx

79b Ramsden (BA) 2½ hides Ranulf brothr of Ilger Freely

Sigeric is not a common name in Domesday Book ii (PCPN, p361), and so these two manors probably belonged to the same man, who may be identified with the Sigeric succeded by Odo in Suffolk (f378-freeman), and Buckinghamshire (DB i,f145b).

157 Sigeweard Thegn

Succeded by Ranulf Peverel at:

18b Tollesbury (TH) 1 hide

19 Rettendon[1] (CH) 1¼ hides

72b Chickney (DU) 2½ hides

73 Willingdale Doe[2] (DU) 1 hide 1 ½ virgates

73 Woodham Mortimer (DE) 5 hides

73 Little Maldon (DE) 5½ hides 10 acres

73b Debden (U) 16½ hides

73b Amberden (U) 5 hides

74 Stebbing (HI) 3¼ hides

74b Down Hall (DE) 14 hides

74b Stangate (DE) 9½ hides

75 Prested[3] (LE) 5 acres

75 Rettendon[1] (CH) 1¼ hides

75 Maldon (M) ½ hide 24 acres

75b St Osyth (TE) 2½ hides

75b Tolleshunt D'Arcy (TR) 4¾ hides

Notes

1 These two entries are duplicates

2. There was also a sokeman of Sigeweard's here, although the extent of his holding is not recorded.

3. Held by a freeman commended to Sigeweard.

The estates of Sigeweard are considered in detail in Chapter 3, pp 82-84 . See also the notes on Sigeweard (159), below.

158 Sigeweard Freeman

28 Abberton (WN) 1¾ hides Eustace of Boulogne

This would seem to have been his only estate, as he is unlikely to be identifiable with the other Sigewards in Essex.

159 Sigeweard

35b Saffron Walden (U) 1 hide Alan of Britanny

56b Stebbing (HI) 2¾ hides Henry de Ferrers

66b Frierning (CH) 3 hides Robert Gernon

Although the first two of these estates are farily close together Frierning is too far away to make it very likely that all three had belonged to the same man, especially as Sigeweard was a fairly common name in 1066. (PCPN pp361-3). Von Feilitzen (ibid,p362, fn 10) suggested that the Stebbing and Frierning estates belonged to Sigeweard of Maldon (157), but since they were not held in 1086 by Ranulf this seems unlikely.

160 Skalpi Housecarl of Harold

59 Lees (CH) 2½ hides 15 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville

67b Ardleigh (TE) ¾ hide Robert Gernon

Although Skalpi is only described in the Lees entry as being Harold's housecarl it seems likely that these two estates did belong to the same person, particularly as Skalpi, 'Harold's thegn' was succeeded by Robert at three estates in Suffolk (ff419b bis. 420).[1] Of Skalpi's later career we learn something from the Lees entry which states that Harold gave the manor to Skalpi, who gave it to his wife having first held it in King William's time. He later died at Evreux as an outlaw.

Note

1. However, the land of a freeman commended to him at Burstall (Suffolk, f377), was held in 1086 by Odo.
See also PCPN, p365 fn2.

161 Sprot

66b South Weald (CF) 1 hide Robert Gernon

162 Stanheard

20 Little Waltham (CH) 2 hides-15 acres Bury Abbey

98b Wethersfield (HI) 30 acres Stanheard

This was a rare name in the Eastern Counties (PCPN, pp 371-2) so that it may well be that both of these estates belonged to the same man. It is to be noted that he held Wethersfield in chief in 1086.

163 Styrkarr

85b Sandon (CH) 3½ hides Robert fitz Corbutio

164 Sveinn

84b Aveley (CF) 3½ hides John fitz Waleram Freely

97 Theydon (O) 2 hides 40 acres William of Cou:tances

Sveinn was a fairly common name in 1066 (PCPN,pp380-1), but these two manors are close enough for them to have been held by the same man.

165 Sveinn Suart

78 Leyton (BE) 3 hides Peter de Valognes

91 Upminster (CF) 6¾ hides Walter of Doai

The only other Domesday references to Sveinn Suart are in Buckinghamshire (DB i,f147b) where he was succeeded by Walter Giffard, and in Suffolk where he preceeded Robert de Stratford (DB ii,f445b) (PCPN, p380). In Buckinghamshire he was described as the man of Earl Edwin, and although rather scattered, these four estates all probably belonged to the same man.

166 Sweting Freeman

36 Tilbury (BA) 30 acres William of Warrene

Von Feilitzen (PCPN,p381) noted only two other references to Swetings in Domesday - a freeman succeeded by Roger Bigod in Suffolk (f 341 bis). Whether he is to be identified with the smallholder at Tilbury is open to question.

167 Sylvi

67 Frierning (CH) 2½ hides 31 acres Robert Gernon

Sylvi held this estate with Topi (172).

168 Tizelin

96 Coggeshall (WT) 1½ hides Thierri Pointel

169 Tofa-Hilda

102b Fordham (L) 3 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

This tiny holding was 'invaded' by Richard.

170 Tofi Freeman

96 Nevendon (BA) 54 acres Haghebern

171 Toli

59 Kenton Hall (CH) 2¾ hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

172 Topi

62 Frierning (CH) 2½ hides 31 acres Robert Gernon

Topi held this manor jointly with Sylvi (167).

173 Tosti

14b Leyton (BE) 1 hide St Peter Westminster

84b Bures (HI) 15 acres John fitz Waleram Freeman

Earl Tosti is never referred to as such in Domesday Book ii, but the f14b entry (and the Norfolk one of f 200b) may relate to him. The freeman was probably a different individual, who may be identified with the Tosti succeeded by John in Suffolk (f435b)

174 Toti Freeman

38b Wallbury (HA) 1 hide Richard son of Count Gilbert

175 Þorbiorn

32 Tolleshunt Guinnes (TR) 8½ hides Eustace of Boulogne

54b Faulkborne (WT) 1½ hides 7½ acres)

55 Great Braxted (WT) 1 hide 35 acres) Hamo

55b Northey (DE) 4 hides 40 acres)

Even though one of these estates was held in 1086 by Eustace it seems likely that all four belonged to the same man. He is presumably identifiable with the Þorbiorn 'antecessor suius' of Hamo whom he preceded as the owner of one house, a curia, 1 hide, and 15 burgesses in Colchester (f106).

176 Þorgautr Freeman

19b Latton (HA) 3½ hides Bury Abbey

177 Þorkell

21 Takeley (U) ½ hide)

21 Birchanger (U) 2 hides) St Walery Freeman

21 Widdington (U) 4½ hides)

21 Bradwell (DE) 1½ hides 2 acres)

21 Dengie (DE) 2½ acres)

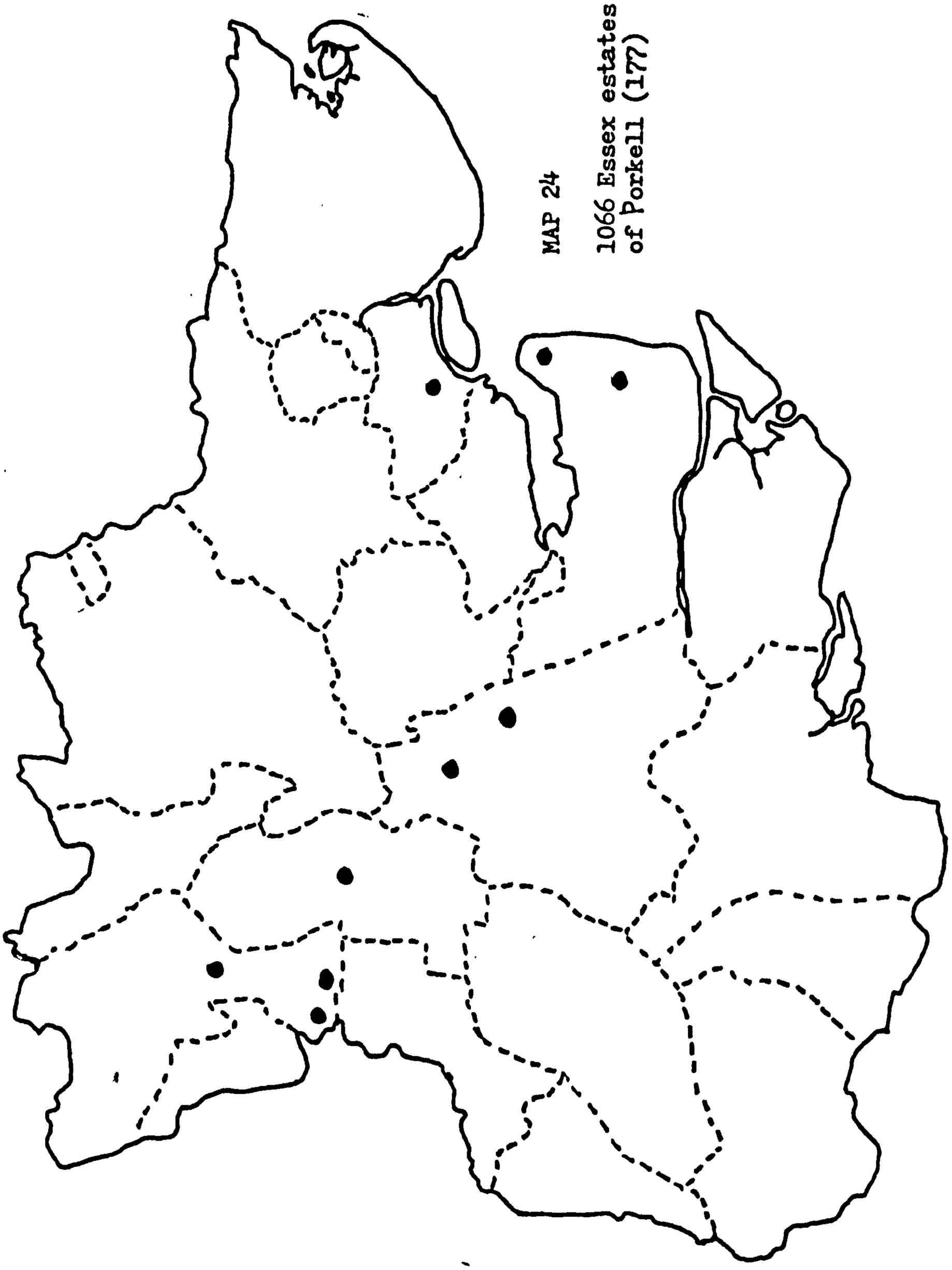
25 Old Lawn (CH) 2½ hides 6 acres Bishop of Bayeux

47b Boreham (CH) 1 hide Suen

52 Dunmow (DU) 2 hides Robert de Otburvilla Freeman

94b Peldon (WN) 5 hides William the Deacon Freeman

Although they were held in 1086 by 5 different Normans it seems likely that all of these manors had belonged in 1066 to the same man - who seems to have been a freeman. The distribution of his estates is shown on Map 24 .



MAP 24

1066 Essex estates of Porkell (177)

178 Þorsteinn

13 Navestock (O) 1 hide 40 acres St Paul's 'Ruff'

80 Great Parndon (HA) 35 acres Ranulf brother of Ilger Freeman

It may be that these two holdings belonged to the same man, but the name was fairly common in 1066 (PCPN, p396). The epithets used to describe them may mean that in fact two different men are mentioned.

179 Þurbert

86b Great Totham (TR) 4 hides)
86b Ovesey (TR) 4 hides) Hamo

There can be little dount that these two manors belonged to the same man.

180 Ulfr Thegn

27 Great Parndon (HA) 3½ hides Eustace of Boulogne

This Essex Ulfr may be the same as the thegn of that name who held land in Buckinghamshire (DB i,f149b), and Cambridgeshire (ibid,ff197,197b), although these manors were not held in 1086 by Eustace, having pased to Gilbert of Gand.

181 Valþiofr Earl

92 Walthamstow (BE) 10½ hides Countess Judith

This seems to have been the only Essex holding of the Earl of Northumbria. For details of estates elsewhere see PCPN p403.

182 Vidi

55 Roding Marc (DU) 1½ hides Hamo

Vidi held this land 'de Heroldo'.

183 WIHTGAR

Succeeded by Richard son of Count Gilbert at:

38b Thaxted (DU) 9½ hides

38b Great Dunmow (DU) 2¼ hides

39 Panfield (HI) 1¾ hides

39 &39b Hinckford Hundred[1] 4½ hides 111½ acres

40b Little Bentley (TE) 1 hide

40b & 41 Colne & Fordham[2] (LE) 1 hide 14 acres

41 Great Bardfield (F) 4 hides

41 Little Sampford (F) 5 hides

41b Hempstead (F) 3¾ hides

41b Bardfield Saling[3] (F) 1 hide

Notes

1 Land held in nine locations by sokemen of Wihtgar

2 Land held by sokemen of Wihtgar

3 Held by two of Wihtgar's servants

Wihtgar's estates are considered in Chapter 3, p p 84-87.

184 Wihtgar Freeman

35 Epping (HA) 1½ hides 15 acres Alan of Britany

Presumably a different individual from Richard's predecessor of the same name (183).

185 Willelm

19 Strethall (U) 5 hides Abbey of Ely

Willelm held this manor jointly with AElfwine (39).

186 Winge

93 Horndon-on-the-Hill (BA) 1½ hides Hugh de St Quintin.

187 Wulfa

52 Arkesden (U) 1 hide Roger de Otburvilla

188 Wulfheah Freeman

62b Great Chishall (U) 2½ hides Geoffrey de Mandeville

189 Wulfmaer

12 Laindon (BA) ½ hide Bishop of London

25b Little Moulsham (CH) 1 hide 40 acres Bishop of Bayeux Freeman

38 Little Wendon (U) 1¾ hides William of Warrene

38 Eynsworth (U) 2½ hides William of Warrene

41 Fordham[1] (L) 40 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

49 Lindsell (DU) 1 hide) Freeman

50 Hawkwell (R) 3½ hides-15 acres)

50 Shellow (R) ½ hide) Freeman

50 Takeley (U) 1 hide 15 acres)Eudo Freeman

50b Theydon Gernon (O) 1 hide 40 acres)

50b Abbess Roding ? (O) 3 hides)

51b Hawkwell (R) 3½ hides-15 acres) Freeman

89 Mount Bures (L) 1 hide Roger of Poitou

101b Halstead (HI) 10 acres Waleram ('invasion')

Note

1. Sokeman of Wihtgar (183)

Since Wulmaer was a common name in late Anglo-Saxon England (PCPN, pp421-2), these manors probably belonged to a number of individuals. The best way of attempting to divide them up is to isolate those of different Norman 'successors'. On this basis these estates would have belonged to seven individuals, two of whom were freemen, and one a sokeman. Eudo's predecessor had seven holdings in four hundreds with a total geld assessment of only 13½ hides 25 acres; his estates are considered further above, Chapter 3 p 88.

190 Wulfric

26	Horndon-on-the-Hill (BA)	2 hides 50 acres	)	Freeman
29	Finchingfield (U)	37 acres	) Eustace of Boulogne	Freeman
32	Tolleshunt (TR)	2 hides 5 acres	)	Freeman
36	Houlsham Hall (HA)	30 acres	William of Warrene	Freeman
57b	Mark's Tey (L)	1½ hides 20 acres	)	
60b	Berners Roding[1] (DU)	2½ hides	) Geoffrey de	
61	Shellow Bowells[1] (DU)	2 hides	) Mandeville	Freely
69	Cold Norton (DE)	8 hides	Ralf Baignard	Freeman
79	Loughton (BE)	1¼ hides	Peter de Valognes	Freeman
99b	Layer[2] (WN)	2 hides	Thierri Pointel	Freeman
102b	Colne[2] (L)	5 acres	) Richard son of	Freely
103	Chawreth[2] (DU)	30 acres	) Count Gilbert	Freeman

Notes

1. Held of Harold (107)

2. 'Invaded'

Wulfric is a name that occurs many times in the folios of Domesday Book (PCPN, pp423-4), and so these estates should have belonged to several individuals named Wulfric. The number of them that were freemen might encourage the view that these estates belonged to only one man, but the great variation in their size and the number of Normans who held them in 1086 render this view unlikely. Taking the Norman successors as the basis of the division of them into groups there are few difficulties apart from the scattered nature of the three manors held by Eustace - and the small size of one of them (f29). It is also likely that the Wulfric's 'invaded' by Richard were two individuals rather than one.

191 Wulfric of Branduna

101b Location not stated ½ hide 6 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert It is presumed that this Wulfric orginated at Brandon in Suffolk. This estate was 'invaded' by Richard, and held by Wulfric with Almear (4), AElfric (34), and Goldstan (97).

192 Wulfric Cassa

49b Lawling (DE) 3 hides Eudo

193 Wulfric Cawa

60b Newton Hall (DU) 2 hides 30 acres Geoffrey de Mandeville This name, like the last, is unique in Domesday (PCPN,p424), and the epithet was presumably used to distinguish him from the other Wulfric Geoffrey succeded (ff57b, 60b,61).

194 Wulfric, Priest of Harold

75 Doddinghurst? (0) 14 acres Ranulf Peverel Freely Presumably his only estate - Ranulf did not succeed any other Wulfrics.

195 Wulfsige

13 Navestock[1] (0) 5 hides-20 acres St Paul's Freeman

54b Tolleshunt D'Arcy (TR) ¾ hide Hugh de Montfort

84b Aveley (CF) ½ hide John fitz Waleram Freeman

85b Waltham (CH) 1 ¼ hides Richard fitz Corbutio

96b Rivenhall (WT) 30 acres) Roger)

96b Felstead[2] (HI) ¾ hide) God save)Freeman

96b Great Baddow (CH) 1½ hides) the ladies)

Notes

1. Held with Howard (110)

2. Held of Earl AElfgar (28)

Wulfsige was a pretty common name in late Anglo-Saxon England, (PCPN, pp 424-5), and it would seem that several men of that name held land in Essex in 1066. The three smallish holdings succeeded to by Roger were not particularly close together, and one of them was held of AElfgar. Nevertheless it seems likely that all three belonged to the same man, and that the other four estates each belonged to different individuals.

196 Wulfstan

48 Kenningtons (CF) 1 hide Suen Freely

197 Wulfweard

76 Goldhanger (TR) 2½ hides 25 acres Ranulf Peverel Priest

93b Litle Birch (L) ½ hide 15 acres Hugh de St Quintin

The priest succeeded by Ranulf held this estate with Leofwine (130), and is presumably not the man with that name held the small estate at Birch.

198 Wulfwig

75 Tendring (TE) ¾ hide Ranulf Peverel Freely.

199 Wulfwine

11b	Thurrock (BA)	2 hides 2 acres	) Fief of Bishop	Freeman
11b	Great Burstead (BA)	1¼ hides	) of London	Freeman
24b	Upminster (CF)	1½ hides	) Bishop of	
24b	Thurrock (CF)	½ hide	) Bayeux	
37b	Kenningtons (CF)	½ hide	William of Warrene	Freeman
58	Great Waltham[1] (CH)	1 hide 50 acres	) Geoffrey de	
58b	Chignall (CH)	40 acres	) Mandeville	
60b	Barnston (DU)	2¼ hides	)	
65b	Great Maplestead (HI)	½ hide	)	Freeman
66	Little Birch (L)	2 hides-4½ acres	) Robert	
68	Shortgrove[2] (U)	2 hides	) Gernon	
74	Great Henny (HI)	2½ hides 45 acres	Ranulf Peverel	Freeman
76	Great Canfield (DU)	2 hides	)	
76	Thaxted? (DU)	1 hide	)	
76b	Ugley (CL)	5 hides	)	
76b	Castle Hedingham (HI)	2 hides	) Aubrey de Vere	
77	Belchamp Walter (TH)	2½ hides	)	
77	Hersham[3] (HI)	45 acres	)	
77	Earls Colne (L)	5 hides	)	
77b	Great Bentley (TE)	3 hides	)	
77b	Dovercourt (TE)	6 hides	)	
77b	Beaumont (TE)	2 hides	)	
77b	Helion's Bumpstead (F)	2 hides	)	
79	Bulmer (TH)	1 hide	) Peter de	
79b	Theydon Bois (O)	½ hide 40 acres	) Valognes	
92b	Ramsden Crays & Belhus[4] (BA)	2¼ hides	Sasselinus	

99 Horndon-on-the-Hill (BA) 15 acres Goduin ('invasion')

101b Halstead (HI) 10 acres Waleram ('invasion')

Notes

1. Held "libe cu' soca".

2. Held with Grimkel (100).

3. Held by 2 sokemen of "antecessore A"

4. Held with Alric (6).

Wulfwine was a common name in 1066 (PCPN, pp427-8), and there are probably several individuals with that name represented among this list of Wulfwines recorded in Essex. The example provided by Aubrey's predecessor suggests that the land of one Wulfwine went to one Norman after the Conquest. Round (VCH Ex 1,343) observed that Wulfwine not only preceded Aubrey in Essex, but also in Cambridgeshire (DB 1,f 199b- 9 instances), and in Suffolk (DB11, f418, 418b bis, 419 bis). From the Cambridge entries it is learned that he was 'King Edward's thegn', although no status was ascribed to him in the Essex text. His holdings are considered in more detail in Chapter 3, pp 88-90

It may be that Aubrey's predecessor also held the hide at Bulmer (f79) succeeded to by Peter, in which case he could have had Theydon Bois as well. The ff 92b, 99, and 101b holdings would probably have belonged to single-estate men. The same was probably true of Ranulf Peverel's predecessor, although it is possible that a freeman might have held the three scattered estates later held by Robert Gernon. A Wulfwine was stated in the first charter of Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey (ECE No 68, ASCh No 1043) to have given land at Maplestead to the Abbey. Geoffrey de Mandeville's holdings form a gently scattered group; and it may be that the first five

estates on the list belonged to a reasonably prosperous freeman.

Suggested division of states among individuals;

A.	11b bis, 24b bis 37b	E.	76 to 79b
B.	58, 58b, 60b	F.	92b
C.	65b, 66, 68	G.	99
D.	74	H.	101b

200 Wulfwine Sokeman

40b Colne (L) 64 acres Richard son of Count Gilbert

Wulfwine, sokeman of Wihtgar (183) held this land with two others. It is unlikely that he is to be identified with any of the Wulfwine s mentioned above.

201 Wulfwine Hapra

94 Stanway (L) ½ hide Roger the Marshall

The only reference to the name in Domesday (PCPN, p428), and likely to have been his only land since he is hard to identify with any other Wulfwines.

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